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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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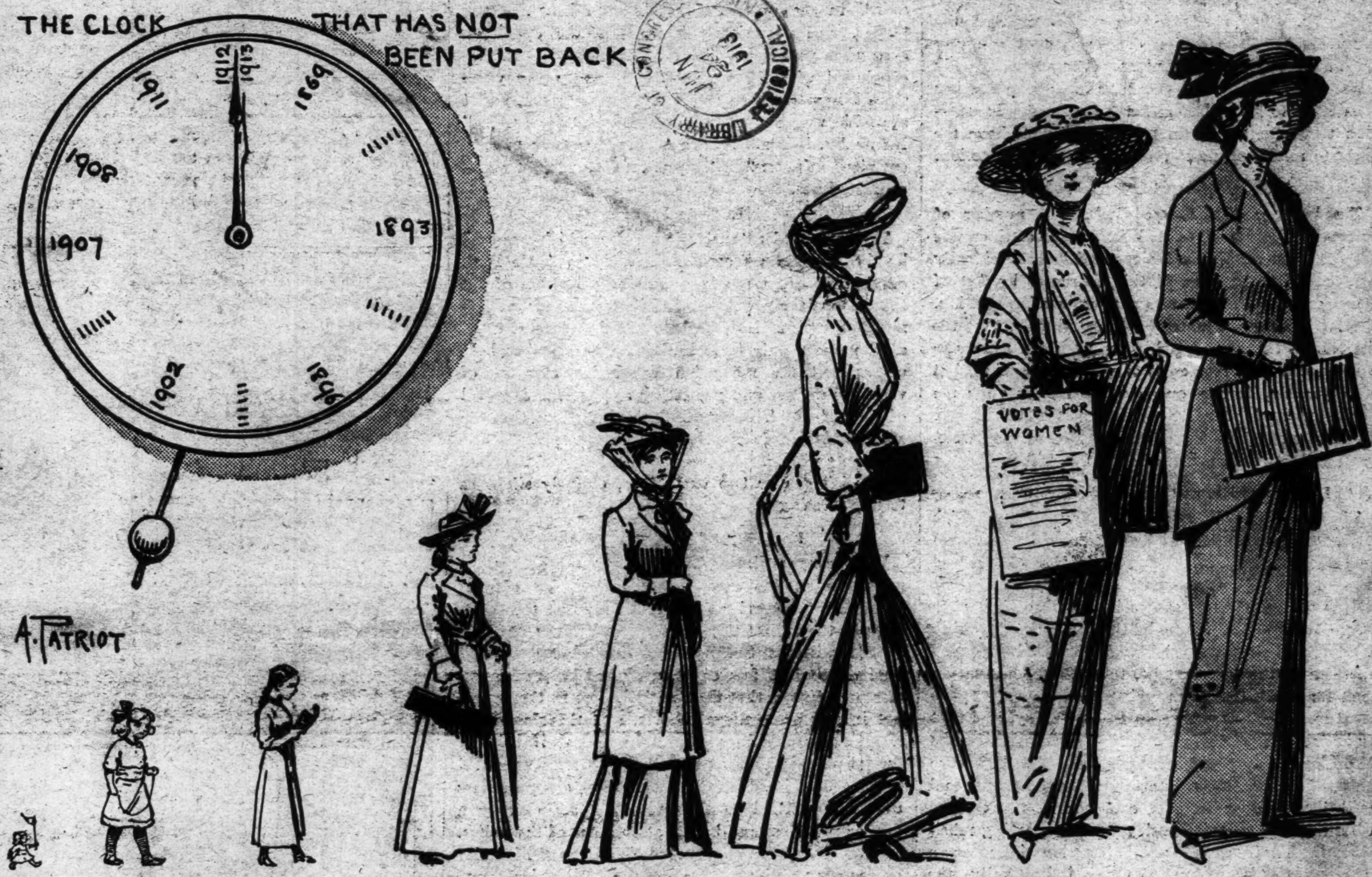
THE WOMAN VOTER



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Alaska.

SEE HOW SHE GROWS!

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Our readers will have learnt with very deep feeling the news that Miss Emily Wilding Davison succumbed to her injuries on Sunday last. She had never recovered full consciousness during the whole time she was at the Epsom Hospital.

A Tribute to a Heroic Soul

There is to be a simple funeral in her own native town in Northumberland, but an occasion will be taken to-morrow, during the passage of her remains through London, to express—so far as merely public ceremony can express it—the respect and affectionate regard of her fellow Woman Suffragists for the whole-hearted, self-immolating zeal which prompted her to give her life for the cause. In this there need be no severance of non-militant from militant; each alike can reverently contemplate the heroism of her soul, each alike can search her own heart with the question: "Am I prepared in that way which seems right to me to give as much as she has done?" The Votes for Women Fellowship is sending a special wreath in the colours, and has asked Mrs. Brailsford to be the representative of the Fellowship in the procession.

The International Movement

The march of women forward to their citizenship is taking place in every part of the civilised world! That is the thought which holds us as we picture in anticipation the International Congress for Woman Suffrage which meets next Sunday in Buda Pest, and which will be in session during next week. There will be delegates from the countries and states where women are already parliamentary voters; there will be delegates from those countries which lag behind. And some idea of the progress already made during the past half-century will be gathered from the cartoon which is given at the head of this issue.

No Votes—No Redress of Grievances

A flagrant illustration of the callous neglect of the questions which affect women because they are not voters was given by the answer of Mr. Lloyd George to a deputation of women who waited on him last Tuesday to ask for an alteration of the law of income-tax, by which the married woman is treated as a mere appendage of her husband. A clear case was made out by Miss Lena Ashwell Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, and other speakers, who gave the facts as they had been put into operation with regard to themselves. Mr. Lloyd George admitted the anomaly and the injustice, but calmly informed them that he intended to do nothing!

The Damages for Window Smashing

The consolidated action for damages, amounting in all to about £364, in which Messrs. Robinson, Cleaver, and others sued Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and the members of the W.S.P.U., was heard at the end of last week, and resulted in a verdict against all the defendants. The damages were claimed in respect of windows broken in the demonstration of March of last year. The result of the verdict is that the plaintiffs have the option of obtaining the money from any one of the defendants. They have already selected Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and application has been made to his solicitors for the amount. In addition to the actual damages, the plaintiffs have the right to re-embursement for their costs in the action.

A Comparison with Trade Unions

The hearing of the case disclosed a number of interesting points. The most important of these was the fact that the Trade Unions had been specifically protected from actions of this character by Act of Parliament. Another was the suggestion of Mr. Tindal Atkinson, counsel for the plaintiffs, that the decision in this case would be regarded not merely as a precedent for other cases of window-breaking, but also for the larger question of liability for the destruction of property by fire and other means. The remarks of the judge with regard to the incitement of Mr. Hobhouse are referred to below.

Defence of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

The action was defended by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in person, and by counsel (Mr. Wallace) on behalf of the W.S.P.U. The defence of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence was directed towards proving that the women who threw stones in March of last year were driven to this course by the necessity of making a protest against the trick which was being played on them by the Government, that the demonstration took its particular form owing to the savage treatment meted out to women on Black Friday, and that as to incitement the persons really responsible were Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Lawrence also referred to the treatment of Dr. Jameson, and said that neither in that case nor in the case of Unionist papers which to-day were supporting rebellion in Ulster would public opinion tolerate an attempt to fasten upon them individually the damages of revolutionary action taken by hundreds of people for a political purpose.

The Judge on Mr. Hobhouse's Speech

Mr. Justice Darling, in summing up, said he did not wonder that the words of Mr. Hobhouse had been cited by the defendants, as they were a most unfortunate thing for him to have said; but more than this was required for a successful defence to a civil action. It was true that if certain persons were all in the dock, and were all found guilty, and some of them said in effect, "We may have used whips, but the others have used scorpions," and he was convinced that it was so, he would pass a heavier sentence on the latter; but in a civil action any party who was guilty became liable, whatever might have been the responsibility of others.

Case for the W.S.P.U.

Counsel for the W.S.P.U. admitted there had been an illegal conspiracy and that certain members of the W.S.P.U. had been guilty of it, but claimed that there were many members of the W.S.P.U. who were not parties to militancy, and who could not be held in any way responsible for it. So far as the W.S.P.U. members were concerned, therefore, he argued that the innocent must not be confounded with the guilty. He asked that the judge should direct the jury that the members of the Union could not be held liable in this way in a "Representative Action," but if the judge took a different view, he asked that the jury should find on the facts that only those members of the Union who were parties to the window-smashing should be held liable. The judge refused to rule according to Mr. Wallace's request, and the jury, as we have already said, returned a verdict against the members of the W.S.P.U. as well as against the other defendants; Mr. Wallace stated his intention of appealing against the ruling of the judge. In view of the fact that steps are already being taken to recover the money from Mr. Pethick Lawrence, this appeal is not, of course, of importance with regard to the damages in the action in question, but with regard solely to its effect upon any similar action which may be brought in the future.

Dr. Forbes Winslow and Forcible Feeding

Dr. Forbes Winslow, the well-known mental specialist, who died last Sunday in London, was one of the first among medical men to declare courageously against forcible feeding when this indefensible practice was first resorted to in the case of Suffragist prisoners in the autumn of 1909. In our issue of October 1 of that year we published a reasoned opinion sent us by Dr. Forbes Winslow in which he stated in strong terms the risks to heart, lungs, throat, and digestion arising from the operation even when performed with the patient's consent. He concluded with the words—"It is now many years since I have cared to resort to such measures, and I should be very sorry to have occasion to advise them." Naturally, it is not to men who hold such inconvenient views as these that the present Government would go for advice.

In Hyde Park

The large and enthusiastic meeting which was held by the Votes for Women Fellowship in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon last effectively disposes of the theory that the people are hostile to the enfranchisement of women. In the whole crowd of several thousand persons only some half-dozen hands were held up against the resolution expressing support of votes for women and protesting against the deprival of the right of free speech. It is significant that the Press which made mention of some quite slight disturbances which took place in other parts of the park was, with one or two exceptions, entirely silent as to this meeting.

Illegality of the Authorities

While congratulating ourselves and the Fellowship generally on the success and orderliness of this gathering, we continue to protest against the treatment by the authorities and the police of the meetings of the militant Suffrage societies. We have had during the last few days authoritative pronouncements by judges that these societies are in themselves not in any sense illegal bodies, and therefore their propaganda meetings cannot be illegal if held in lawful places unless and until they become unlawful by reason of incitement. Under these circumstances they are entitled to the protection afforded by a proper platform and by the attendance of the police. The refusal of these safeguards is an act of illegality on the part of the authorities, and if disorder occurs the blame rests entirely upon them.

The Modern Star Chamber

A peculiarly flagrant case of the star-chamber methods employed by the magistracy in the police courts occurred on Friday last at the Marlborough Street Police Court, when Mr. Denman sentenced Mrs. Hyde, Miss Andrews, and Miss Ogilvie summarily to fines of twenty shillings each or fourteen days' imprisonment for holding a meeting outside St. James' Palace The women asked for an adjournment to take legal advice and to procure evidence. The magistrate peremptorily refused to adjourn for more than a single day, and during that remand unwarrantably refused bail. The women accordingly went to prison, but, after one day, were released, their fines having been mysteriously paid, probably by the authorities, who must have been ashamed at the course events had taken. We have held from the beginning that the police court was not a place in which political offences ought to be tried, but if they are to be tried there then at least the magistrates must observe the law. and must not exceed their rights, as we hold that Mr. Denman undoubtedly did on the present occasion.

How Cabinet Ministers Intrigue

In the House of Commons on Tuesday Lord Robert Cecil asked Mr. McKenna whether it was true he had approached the Royal College of Surgeons with a view to inducing that body to censure Sir Victor Horsley for the attacks he had made upon the administration of forcible feeding inside Holloway Prison, and whether Mr. McKenna had sent to Sir Victor Horsley a copy of the correspondence. Mr. McKenna admitted that he had approached the Royal College of Surgeons, and that he had not supplied Sir Victor Horsley with the correspondence. He refused to do so, alleging that there was nothing contained in his communication which was not already a matter of public knowledge.

Items of Interest

Following upon the resolution of creditors to which we referred last week, an order was formally made on Wednesday adjudicating Mr. Pethick Lawrence a bankrupt.

A question was asked in the House of Commons on Wednesday as to whether the Government proposed to suppress the *Times* on account of its support of the revolutionary campaign in Ulster. The Prime Minister's reply was, "The Government do not propose to take any proceedings in the matter."

The trial of Miss Annie Kenney, Mr. Edwy Clayton, and the permanent officials of the W.S.P.U. was commenced at the Old Bailey on Monday last, when the Solicitor-General, Sir John Simon, outlined the case for the prosecution. A very large number of witnesses have been called, and the case is still proceeding as we go to press.

In view of the important utterance of Mr. Justice Darling which we print on the opposite page, which did not appear in full in any of the daily papers, we ask our readers to circulate this issue of Votes for Women as widely as possible.

WHAT MR. HOBHOUSE SAID ON FEBRUARY 16, 1912

"In every demand by any portion of the electorate in previous times for the extension of the franchise there had been, as an accompaniment of that demand, demonstrations on the part of the public. In the present days of cheap and easy railway traffic, they could always arrange numerous deputations or demonstrations, and they could be as noisy as their funds permitted—but they had not had in the case of the Suffrage demands the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832, or Hyde Park railings in 1867. They had had no exhibition of popular feeling in that matter."

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A DEPUTATION THAT WAS RECEIVED

A deputation (which was received) waited upon Mr. Lloyd George at the Treasury, last Tuesday, from the Women's Tax Resistance League, on the subject of the taxation of married women.

Miss Amy Hicks said the result of the income tax law not having been brought into line with the Married Women's Property Act was to impose an unfair tax upon marriage. It was not a special favour, but an indignity, that a married woman should not be considered the person responsible for her own affairs.

Referred to in Brackets

Miss Lena Ashwell, in an able and witty speech, said that for fifteen years she had paid income tax on her own earnings. This year the papers were sent to her husband, Dr. Simpson (incorrectly spelt), and she was referred to in brackets as his wife. Her husband, moreover, was not her manager, knew nothing of the Kingsway Theatre, and had no desire to study the workings of the profession. She had made sums on which she had paid a considerable amount in income tax before she was aware of Dr. Simpson's existence, although he assured her he was aware of hers. (Laughter.)

"The Kingsway Theatre," she went on, "is an unknown world to my husband. He has never been an actor, and has no aspirations in that direction. I have the highest appreciation of his talents, which lie in a different world altogether, but he would be quite incapable of making a just return to the Government of my work or the money I have made by it. His ignorance of the theatre makes him quite the last man I would ask to give a correct statement of my theatrical business. (Laughter.)

"The method of collecting the tax from me is unreasonable. If I am not a person, but an appendage, it should be impossible for me to be on the list of taxpayers. I would ask you, or any other Walton Heath golf champion, how you would like to find you had no name, but must be referred to in hushed brackets when you were parting with your hard-earned sovereigns for the nation's good. Surely a thing that is in a parenthesis, or in brackets, an accidental possession, should not be on the list of those who support the expenses of the nation, and I would ask either to be removed from the list of those privileged to pay the expenses of the nation, and allowed to support the army and navy and the (expected) aeroplanes, or if I am included because my work is of sufficient national value to be assessed that I may be assessed as an individual."

When Mrs. Ayres Purdie had dealt with the case of a woman who was forced to leave her husband on account of his conduct, and he alone was able to reclaim the tax upon her income, Mrs. Cecil Chapman said that widows and spinsters alone were recognised by the Revenue Department. The notion underlying the law was that a woman who married ceased to exist as a person—she became a piece of property—and could only emerge into individuality again on the death of her husband. This must lead to friction in the home and to a burning sense of indignity among women. "Until women have the vote," she added, "they will be of no account politically, just as married women are of no account in the eyes of the Revenue Department."

Dr. Elizabeth Wilks also spoke, and recalled the instance under which her husband was committed to prison because she refused to pay the tax.

THE CHANCELLOR'S REPLY
Never Jam To-day

Mr. Lloyd George, in reply, said the Bill which would deal with the income tax was not the Budget but the Revenue Bill, which had not yet been finally framed. He went on to say that everyone must admit that the present form of the law rather treated married women as if they had no legal existence at all, and he also accepted the view that that was a legal humiliation, and that they were entitled certainly to protest against it.

The difficulties were difficulties of a practical character. To do what they wished would involve his having to find a million and a half revenue elsewhere immediately. He could not find that without imposing it on other people, and married people, like others, would have to bear their share. While he did not agree with the form of the law, he did not think there was anything unfair in the principle of aggregating incomes for the purpose of ascertaining what the household income was, so as to see that the burdens of taxation were not unfair and burdensome on the household with a small income. To that extent he could not agree with the claim the deputation was making.

His Partner, Mr. Jorkins

The present position of the law was undoubtedly an anomalous one. So long as the husband was liable it was right he should get the exemption, but he agreed that there was a good deal to be said for allocating the liability where it ought to be, and he was sure no married woman wanted to shirk it. He would have to hear what his advisers said with regard to the particular grievances they had mentioned. For the moment he could only tell them that he acknowledged that the present position of the law, which seemed to blot out the existence of a married woman during the time of her marriage, and to treat her as if she were not an entity at all, was a humiliation. In many cases it caused great inconvenience and loss to the Inland Revenue as well.

(An interesting article on "Married Women and Income Tax," by Miss Amy Hicks, appeared in Votes for Women, *April 11, 1913.)*

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NOT DIFFICULT—TO THE VOTELESS

In the eyes of the Inland Revenue a married woman is what before 1870 she was in the eyes of the law—a nobody whose property was all her husband's. . . . Of course if marriage were, like whisky-drinking or beer-drinking, something which the State, on the whole, wanted to discourage, well and good. But to-day, when the postponement of marriage and the catastrophic fall of the birth-rate among the professional and lower middle classes are alarming every thoughtful student of society, it is difficult to see why a moderate expense should be allowed any longer to postpone the amendment of an arrangement so mischievous.—**Manchester Guardian.**

IN MEMORIAM

Emily Wilding Davison, Died June 8, 1913

"She had the step of the unconquered, brave, not arrogant."
—**George Meredith.**

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record the death of Emily Wilding Davison, who died at Epsom Cottage Hospital, last Sunday afternoon, of the injuries received in consequence of her protest made during the running of the Derby on Wednesday in last week. We gave the facts of what happened on the racecourse in our last issue. Miss Davison never recovered consciousness from the moment that she was knocked down by the King's horse; and although there was hope on Thursday morning that she might do so, her condition became rapidly worse as the day wore on. On Friday, an operation was performed on her by Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., but it could not save her, and she died two days later. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union, who visited her on those last days, draped the head and foot of her bed in the colours of the Union, that she might die under the flag she had served so unselfishly and with such magnificent courage.

We gave an account of Miss Davison's career in last week's Votes for Women, to which we refer our readers, as well as to our leading article this week, "Greater Love hath no Man" (page 540).

CAPTAIN DAVISON'S TESTIMONY

Miss Davison's brother, Captain Davison, a retired naval officer, giving evidence at the inquest held at Epsom last Tuesday, said that his sister was a person of considerable gifts, both as a speaker and a very prolific writer. She was a woman of very strong reasoning faculties, passionately devoted to the Woman's Movement.

Questioned as to whether he had any idea why she did this, he answered:

"I can only say that my impression is that it was with the object of calling attention to the Suffrage movement. I am perfectly certain she had no wish to commit an act likely to do away with her life. I look upon it as entirely an accident, and I think she did it hoping she would be saved from the possible results. She wished merely to draw as much attention as possible to the movement."

EMILY WILDING DAVISON

The Foreman of the Jury: Was there anything to lead you to suppose she was abnormal mentally in any way?—Nothing whatever.

When he was questioned further as to whether he thought she did what she did with a view of calling attention to the Government's failure to do justice to women, the coroner intervened and said he could not allow anything of a political nature to be introduced.

Two eye-witnesses of what had occurred were then called. Their evidence was somewhat conflicting as to whether Miss Davison had tried to stop the King's horse in particular or whether her intention was to rush out earlier and stop the whole race.

A doctor's certificate was produced to show that Herbert Jones, the jockey, was not well enough to appear.

Important Summing Up by the Coroner

In summing up, the Coroner said that even if the King's jockey had been present he did not think he could have taken the case any further. There was no doubt whatever from the evidence that deceased must have waited until the horses were in view, standing on the side which the horses "hugged," and deliberately stooped down and got underneath the railings. He thought it was clear that she did not make for His Majesty's horse in patricular, but performed her action with the intention of destroying or disturbing the race. Fortunately the first horses were past, otherwise the act would have had more serious consequences. The act was not the same thing as throwing oneself in front of a train, and the jury would probably dismiss the idea that she intended to take her own life. It was very sad that an educated lady who had taken University honours should have sacrificed her life in such a way.

The Verdict

After an hour's deliberation the jury recorded the following verdict: "That the said Emily Wilding Davison died from fracture of the base of the skull, caused by being accidentally knocked down by a horse through wilfully rushing on to the racecourse on Epsom Downs on June 4 last, during the progress of the race; that is to say, misadventure."

THE FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS

The funeral will take place to-morrow (Saturday). A procession (in which several Societies besides the W.S.P.U. will join, including among others the Women's Freedom League, the New Constitutional Society, Women Writers' League, Church League, and Actresses' Franchise League) will meet the train from Epsom at Victoria, forming up in Buckingham Palace Road at 1, and starting at 2, when it will march to St. George's, Hart Street, Bloomsbury. Here a memorial service will be held at 4 o'clock, after which the procession will re-form and march to King's Cross.

Miss Davison is to be buried at her home in Morpeth, Northumberland.

JUDGE REBUKES MR. HOBHOUSE

Passage from Mr. Justice Darling's Summing-up in the Broken Windows Case, June 7

"Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has said the women were incited by Mr. Lloyd George; they were incited by Mr. Hobhouse. I do not affect to say. But I cannot help saying this:—I do not wonder that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence read to you that passage from Mr. Hobhouse's speech. It was a most unfortunate way of putting the question. If these people were at that time indulging in constitutional agitation, it was a most unfortunate thing to tell them—and you have heard the words read—that what was required to convince you of the good faith and earnestness of the people was that there should be riots like the throwing down of the Hyde Park palings, and riots like the burning of Nottingham Castle; it was a most unfortunate thing that anybody at all, let alone a Minister of the Crown, should have treated the constitutional agitation in such a way. This is a constitutional agitation. These women are just as much entitled to ask for the vote as the men are; and far be it from me to say that they are not as fit for it. I do not express any opinion about it; but it is an opinion which anybody may well hold. It is an opinion which many high in political life on the Government side of the House, and on the Opposition side, hold, that they should have the franchise given to them. They were, no doubt, for a long time agitating for the franchise in a perfectly legitimate and peaceful way. As this passage has been read, I think I am bound to say on behalf of Mrs. Lawrence that it is not unnatural that she should use the argument that the people who incited really were Mr. Lloyd George and, above all, Mr. Hobhouse, in the words which have been read. But, Gentlemen, if they were guilty in their degree, it does not follow that these others were innocent. That is the fault in the argument. If they were all in the dock together at the Old Bailey before me, and, after conviction, a speech was made in which one convict said, "I did incite; but whereas I only used whips, that other one there used scorpions," I might feel it necessary to pass a heavier sentence upon the one who used the scorpions; and I should. But, you see, that is not exactly the position. If these people did incite these women to break windows, and in consequence of that incitement these women broke them; and if the incitement was the result of a conspiracy between the people who are the defendants before you, then a verdict must go against them; and it is nothing to the point to say: "But there are other people who incited who have not been sued." Perhaps, if there are many more speeches of that sort, they might find themselves sued; and, when they are, some judge will have to pronounce whether that is an incitement; and if two of them did it, if two of them made the same sort of speech on the same afternoon, this law of conspiracy might be applied to them."

UNDER FREEDOM'S FLAG

AT BUDAPEST

[By kind permission of "The Vote"

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT

Next week, the Congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance will be held in Budapest, opening on Sunday, June 15, and continuing until Friday, June 20. Previous congresses have been held in Washington, Berlin, Copenhagen, London, and Stockholm; but it is probable that not one has been placed in so romantic a setting as in the beautiful halls of the Redoute, on the banks of the Danube, where women from all over the world will, in a few days' time, be gathered together under the flag of freedom.

Delegates from the countries affiliated to the alliance have already started for Budapest, some of them intending to stop on the way to attend smaller meetings at Vienna and Dresden. The affiliated countries are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Galicia, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Servia, South Africa, and the United States. Visitors will also be present at the Congress from other countries, including China, India, Persia, Spain, and Roumania. It is interesting to note that the three languages to be used at the actual meetings will be English, French, and German, and of those three, English alone represents the language of women who are already enfranchised; for although Great Britain herself lags behind, her colonies and America, between them, can show by far the largest number of women voters yet in existence.

[By kind permission of "The Vote"

COUNTESS ISKA TELEKI

Women Who Mean to be Free

It will be an interesting gathering, this massing together on the banks of the Danube of women from all over the world, who are either free already, or mean to win their freedom. Numbers of them will be women known as workers in many reform movements, women who have found that it is impossible to tackle problems like industrialism, education, peace, anti-alcoholism, white slavery, without coming up against the artificial barrier of women's political disability—women like our own Councillor Margaret Ashton and Mrs. Despard, or Dr. Belva A. Lockwood, LL.D., the veteran barrister from the United States. Then there will be the women who have found this out long ago, and are giving their whole energies to the cause of political enfranchisement, such women as Mrs. Chapman Catt, the President of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, who will preside over the Congress next week, and Frau Rosika Schwimmer, the leader of the Suffrage movement in Hungary.

What the Congress will be About

The first event of the week will be a religious service on Sunday morning, at which Dr. Anna Shaw will preach. In the afternoon the Congress will be opened ceremonially, and on Monday the business meetings are to commence, and will occupy every morning throughout the week, the afternoons and evenings being given up to receptions and sight-seeing.

The agenda includes public meetings to be addressed by Mrs. Chapman Catt and speakers from many countries dealing with the various methods of suffrage propaganda, especially in relation to the needs of working women. Discussions will be opened on "The Relation of Suffrage Organisations to Political Parties," "The White Slave Traffic," and "The Effect of the Vote in Enfranchised Countries." An interesting proposal from Great Britain suggests the establishment of an International Press Bureau for dealing with women's suffrage and allied subjects.

But it is not the actual business of these Congresses that really matters very much. The language difficulty is so great as to be almost insuperable, it being perfectly possible for a long discussion to rage round a technicality based upon the different meaning of the same word in a dozen different languages; and the present writer remembers how, at the Congress held here in London some years ago, the easiest way to take notes of the proceedings was to wait for the French translation, which summarised the whole thing in a way that no other language used ever seemed to do.

[By kind permission of "The Vote"

MRS. DESPARD

But the real importance of these international assemblages lies in their being a demonstration in the eyes of the public that the women's flag is waving in every civilised country in the world, that Woman Suffrage is not a question of this or that piece of political tactics, but a great movement that has thrown a girdle round about the earth, and is growing, growing, growing. For five June days, by the side of a great, rolling river, the question of Votes for Women will be raised out of the rut of party politics into the sphere of those great human struggles that know no country and no age, and will continue until every man and woman in the world has won freedom.

We reproduce on this page photographs of some of the delegates to the Congress.

THE MEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The Men's International Congress, which held its first meeting in London last autumn, will also meet in Budapest at the same time as the Women's Congress.

The principal speakers will be Senator Mechlin from Finland, Mr. Keir Hardie and Dr. Drysdale from England, Mr. Beckman from Sweden, M. du Breuil de St. Germain from France, Colonel Mansfeldt from Holland, and Herr Bahr from Austria.

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DR. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD

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IN GREAT BRITAIN

ANOTHER INFRINGEMENT OF PUBLIC RIGHTS

Protest by Women's Freedom League

Three members of the Women's Freedom League, Mrs. Hyde, Miss Andrews, and Miss Ogilvie, were arrested outside St. James's Palace last Friday afternoon, where they held a meeting of about 400 people for fifteen minutes, to protest against the Government "imagining that they can secure peace abroad while they cannot maintain peace at home." The women set up a portable platform and carried two posters, on one of which was the inscription, "Peace abroad, but not at home"; on the other, "Pacify the women first."

Bail Refused

The three women, when brought up before Mr. Denman at Marlborough Street and charged with obstruction, asked for a remand in order to find witnesses for their defence. They were remanded for one day only, and were removed to Holloway, bail being refused.

On being brought up again the next day, they pointed out that it had been impossible for them to obtain witnesses, and they applied for another remand, with bail.

The magistrate, however, made the remarkable statement that they only wanted "to go fishing for people to make public speeches in court," and forthwith sentenced them to a 20s. fine, or fourteen days, and they were removed in custody, refusing to pay the fines. These were subsequently paid without their knowledge or consent.

The Women's Freedom League have laid the matter before the Home Office, and do not intend to allow it to drop. In their opinion, there has been a gross miscarriage of justice.

MR. DREW'S UNDERTAKING

At Bow Street Police Court on Saturday an application was made on behalf of Mr. Sidney Granville Drew, general manager of the Victoria House Printing Company, Tudor Street, to vary the undertaking entered into recently by him in regard to the *Suffragette*. Mr. McCurdie, for Mr. Drew, said that the undertaking was to the effect that Mr. Drew should not directly or indirectly take part in printing or publishing the *Suffragette*, or other organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, or the printing or publishing of any matter inciting to crime on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was felt that the undertaking went far beyond that which the Crown could fairly require from Mr. Drew.

The Director of Public Prosecutions had instructed Mr. Bodkin to assent to the following variation of the undertaking:—

> I, Sidney Granville Drew, of the Victoria House Printing Company, Tudor Street, City of London, printer, hereby undertake that I will not hereafter, directly or indirectly, print or publish any matter inciting to crime or any acts of violence against property, on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, or otherwise in any matter whatsoever.

Mr. Bodkin having assented, the magistrate (Mr. Graham Campbell) granted the undertaking.

TO SUPPRESS THE "TIMES"?

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, June 11, Mr. Martin asked the Prime Minister if it is the intention of the Government to take criminal proceedings against Lord Grey and the publisher and printers of the *Times* newspaper in connection with the seditious letter from Lord Grey, published in that paper on Monday last, containing a plain incitement to crime, and will the Government suppress the *Times?*

Mr. Asquith: The Government do not propose to take any proceedings in the matter.

CAT AND MOUSE ACT AT WORK

MRS. PANKHURST

Mrs. Pankhurst's licence, as we announced last week, expired at midnight on Saturday last. She is still too ill to leave her room, and no attempt has been made, up to the time of going to Press, to re-arrest her.

A STRONG RESOLUTION

The following strong resolution was passed at the last branch meeting of the Worthing I.L.P.:—

"The Worthing Branch of the Independent Labour Party, while expressing no opinion regarding the policy of the W.S.P.U., enters an emphatic protest against the relentless prosecution of the Government's uncivilised 'cat and mouse' treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst, and also against the indecency of putting an unconscious and dying woman under ostentatious police surveillance at Epsom Cottage Hospital."

◆

WOMEN WRITERS AND THE SOVEREIGN

The following letter has been sent by the Women Writers' Suffrage League to—

Their Most Excellent Majesties King
George and Queen Mary.

May it please your Majesties,

We, the undersigned, women engaged in the art of literature, who are thus, both by temperament and profession, best fitted to set down the facts of the life it is our business to study, do most humbly entreat of your Majesties to reconsider the true bearing of the Act of Parliament recently passed under the title "Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill."

Sire and Madam! We humbly point out that this Act is unworthy your Majesties' Houses of Parliament. It is at once cruel and ineffectual. Cruel because it legalises slow torture for minor offences; ineffectual because the ill-health which will be induced by the first instalment of that slow torture, and which will go on increasing with every fresh instalment, must inevitably prevent the due serving of the sentence.

A woman, may it please your Majesties, may be assigned three years' penal servitude, and, if she hunger-strike for five days out of every two months—an estimate erring on the side of law—at the end of six-and-thirty years the Cat will still be playing with the Mouse, at what cost to the prestige and pocket of your Majesties' Government it is for that Government to say.

Therefore, may it please your Majesties, we humbly entreat that this Act be removed from the Statute Book.

(Signed)

Flora Annie Steel, President.

Members of Committee:
Annesley Kenealy.
Edith Waldemar Leverton.
C. Romanne-James.
M. W. Nevinson (Hon. Treas.)
Bessie Hatton (Hon. Sec.).
Beatrice Harraden.
E. Rentoul Esler.

A formal acknowledgment of this letter has been received by the Women Writers' Suffrage League from the King's Private Secretary, informing the League that their petition has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

◆

IN THE PRESS

A TRAGIC DUEL

The peculiarity of the struggle which is taking place between Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. McKenna lies in the fact that all the risk and all the chances of victory are on one side. Mrs. Pankhurst may die, but she cannot lose. Mr. McKenna runs no immediate risk of being killed, but he cannot win. Was there ever a stranger or more tragic duel? . . . There seems little doubt that sooner or later—probably sooner—unless the authorities openly climb down, she will succeed in laying her death at their door. We presume Mr. McKenna realises what this would mean, and what its effect would be upon all sections, militant and non-militant alike, of the women's movement. If he does not, it is high time he took pains to inform himself on the subject.—**New Statesman.**

A HORRIBLE BUSINESS

The women are winning again. What they lost by window-smashing has been restored to them and multiplied a hundred fold by the Government's Cat and Mouse Act. That, by God, we *can't* stand. . . . Infinitely better, more dignified, and more humane to kill women outright on the scaffold, or even to let them starve to death, than to continue this horrible business of alternate torture and repair. . . . It *must* be stopped, and stopped at once. We are no men if we allow this horror to go on.—**Clarion.**

THE LICENSED REBEL

Just imagine what an outcry there would be if only a dozen modern rifles and bayonets were found at the W.S.P.U. headquarters. The official Liberal, Tory, and Labour Press would have fits.—**Daily Herald.**

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWS IN HYDE PARK

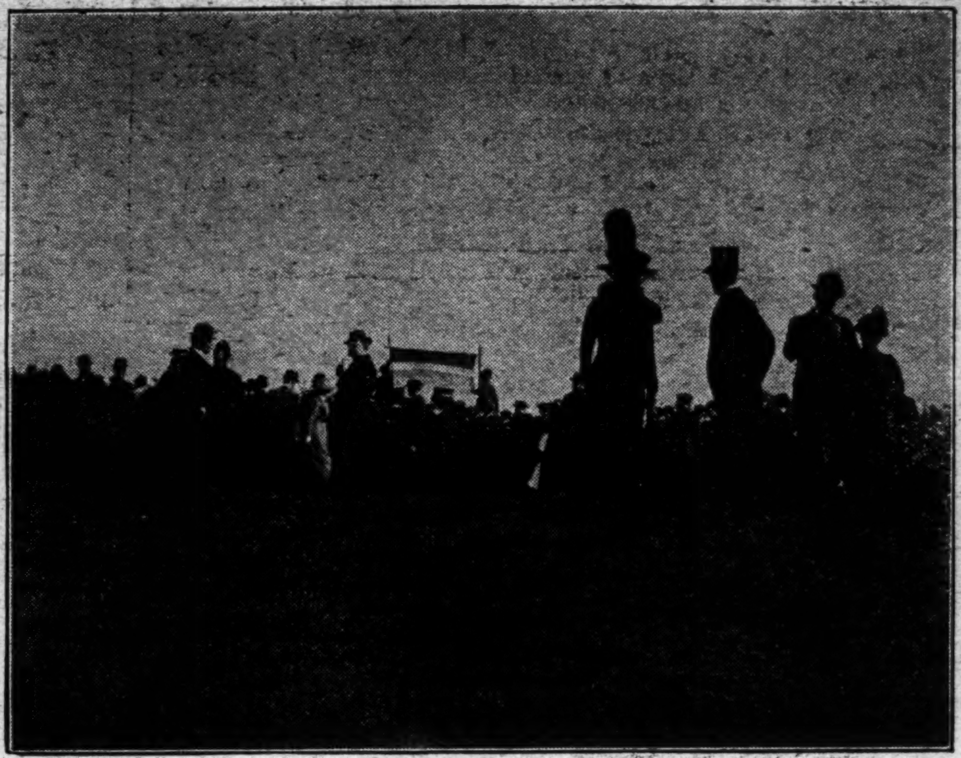
The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship had King's weather last Sunday, when the new purple, white, and red banner was unfurled, and a great crowd, running into thousands, gathered round the platform from which it flew in the breeze. The heavy storms of the early afternoon had somewhat thinned the usual large audiences round the lorries of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Teachers' Franchise League. Both had good crowds, however, and an excellent hearing, for the flashily dressed young hooligan of Hyde Park crumples up in the rain and loses his starch in the damp. There was some attempt at senseless interruption round the platform of the women teachers, but not more than they could easily contend with. For the rest, the respectable frequenters of the Park showed, as usual, that they were extremely ready to listen to whatever anyone had to say on the subject that Lord Emmott declared recently "is dead so far as Parliament is concerned." It was a very lively corpse so far as Hyde Park was concerned last Sunday.

The Opening Speech

By five o'clock the clouds had skudded away, and a serene blue sky overhead, and blazing sunshine all round, heralded the first public appearance of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who took the chair, was greeted with loud applause when she opened the meeting punctually at five o'clock. The merry sound brought the Sunday afternoon loiterer of every class towards the centre of attraction, and the crowd grew and grew until it spread all round the lorry, and east and west of it, in a huge ellipse. A Fellow who tried to take a snapshot of it had no difficulty in clearing a space for herself in the throng, owing to her camera being fortunately mistaken for a bomb. By the time her neighbours discovered that it would not go off, and closed round her again, she had secured a passable picture, which we reproduce on this page.

Mrs. Lawrence said that this meeting, held under the banner of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, had been called for a two-fold purpose—to press for a Government measure of Women's Enfranchisement as necessary for the good of the whole community, and to protest against the attempt of the Government to suppress the right of Free Speech. She was glad to see such large numbers of men, because it showed that men were beginning to realise that this was not a woman's question, but one affecting human liberty vital to both sexes. She pointed out that the voteless and politically helpless class was a grave danger to the whole people. Steps were being taken to crush the movement by man-made law and by withdrawal of popular rights, and these were dangerous innovations affecting reforms which had been won at great sacrifice in the past. To the Government thanks were due for having taught this lesson so clearly and having brought all the progressive forces of the day to life.



She went on to point out that women demanded the vote because they knew it was desperately needed for the political and social world. She gave illustrations of this point which won the appreciation and the applause of the audience. Finally she appealed to men and women to join in the struggle, pointing out that it was much more exciting to stake a portion of one's life on a great Cause than to put a bet upon a horse. She ended on a note of victory, and with this sentence, "We are going to win; come and help us to do it."

"I say, these people are being made bankrupt, you know," said a woman, putting up her lorgnette.

"So I heah," rejoined her companion.

They heard a good deal more before they moved on, but they seemed to like it.

The speaker went on to say she was proud to feel that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship had come out into the open to take its stand with others in the great fight for human liberty. She captured her crowd, first by her stirring words on the poignant figures of infant mortality, then by her swift change to humour with an analogy drawn from pigs. She submitted the following resolution:—

"This meeting protests against the Government's attack upon the liberties of the people, and calls upon them to introduce a Bill giving equal franchise rights to men and women."

Other Speakers

Lieutenant Cather followed with a short, straightforward speech that made a good effect. He maintained that this was a man's fight as well as a woman's, and that there was a man's side to the question as well as the woman's side. This was greeted with loud applause by a group of idlers on the edge of the crowd, who seemed to see in the statement a faint sign that Man was going to get back a little of his own with the help of the speaker on the lorry. Rapidly disillusioned by his succeeding remarks, they got a little mixed, and told him he ought to be minding his baby.

Miss Brailsford caused the women to applaud and their companions to remain silent by saying that it amazed her that the men of the country should not be quicker to see that this was their fight every bit as much as the women's. She referred to the delinquencies of the Government, and reviewed the political Suffrage situation very ably.

The Evils of Masculinism

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said he wanted to suggest a new point of view to his hearers. This question was blocking the way of social reform, which would never go ahead till Woman Suffrage was cleared out of the way. He gave such instances as the Insurance Act, sweating, the undercutting of men by women, a living wage, and so on, to show how hopeless it was to cope with such things without the help of women and their votes. He did not believe in feminism; if it meant that women were out to seek for new and special privileges, it simply didn't exist. What did exist was masculinism, which he defined as the attempt of men to retain privileges and artificial barriers of sex set up for themselves; and that ought to be swept away. He was there as a man to take his stand by the women in their fight for freedom, to show that there was no such thing as sex antagonism.

To Support a Fine Protest

Mrs. Despard had a great reception when she mounted the platform, and in a few words explained that she came there to support the magnificent protest that was being made in the Courts by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in the cause of the liberty of the individual. Mrs. Cather, who was the last speaker, and whose fine voice carried easily to the outer ring of the audience, which now reached enormous proportions, spoke mainly on the industrial question, on the bad economic position of women, on the way they were sweated by the Government, especially in the tailoring trade.

When the resolution was put to the meeting a forest of hands went up in favour, and only six or eight could be counted in opposition.

Mrs. Lawrence closed the meeting by explaining the objects of the Fellowship, and several people, both men and women, joined on the spot.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

IN CONGRESS

It will be remembered that the Woman Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate voted almost unanimously last month in favour of submitting to the State Legislatures an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women. If this course were adopted with successful results in the States, the effect would be to amend the Constitution of the United States itself, and thus to enfranchise women in all those States where they are yet unenfranchsed, instead of leaving each State to do this for itself, which has been the procedure followed in the case of the nine States already enfranchised.

The Next Step

The satisfactory report of the Senate Committee is therefore a great point gained. The next step will be to get it endorsed by the Senate; and Senator Thomas (of Colorado, where women vote) will submit it at the earliest opportunity. He will be supported by all the Senators from the nine Suffrage States, and by others as well, many of whom come from States where a Suffrage amendment has already been passed by one or both Houses of the Legislature, and is only waiting to become law.

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston) says:—

"The chances are said to be growing that the amendment will be passed at the next session of Congress. It will be sharply debated, and a hard fight will be made against it. But it is admitted now that the Woman Suffrage question cannot be ignored or amendments defeated as easily as in the past."

IN THE STATES

In Florida, where, as we recently recorded, the Suffrage amendment was lost by a narrow majority in the Lower House, a hard fight is being made to ensure its being passed through the Senate by a three-fifths majority. If they are successful, the Constitution of the State allows them to bring up the amendment again in the other House with a view to getting it passed this session; it could then be submitted to the electors in November, 1914. If they fail, the issue must be postponed two years, the Florida Legislature being only biennial.

Practical Effects of the Vote

It is no wonder that there should be this agitation in the non-enfranchised States to get on a level with the nine free States. Take the question of the status of mothers alone. In Wisconsin, as in most other States of the Union, the married mother, like her British sister, has no legal rights over her children so long as she lives with her husband; and the Wisconsin Legislature has just thrown out the parents' joint guardianship of children bill. *In Wisconsin women have no votes.*

In Massachusetts, another unenfranchised State, it took the Suffragists fifty-five years of "indirect influence" to secure this elementary right to mothers.

With Votes in Their Hands

What happens when the women come with votes in their hands? In California, the same law was demanded in vain by women for many years before they had the vote. *The first Legislature to meet after women were enfranchised passed that law.*

Similarly, in Colorado, the first Legislature that met after women were enfranchised granted it.

Ruling the World

He: "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. Don't forget that."

She: "Then you come in and rule the world awhile. I'm tired."—**Woman's Journal.**

GIRL PRIZE-WINNER AT HURLINGHAM

(Reproduced by kind permission of the "Daily Mirror," in which these pictures appeared on June 9.)

Miss Gladys Laurence, aged 18, was the only woman to enter for the Jumping Competition at Hurlingham, on June 9. She won, beating seven men competitors. The above pictures show her on her horse, Lady Sefton.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Red

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The Fellowship meeting in Hyde Park was a magnificent success. A very large, orderly crowd collected round the platform, decorated with our new Fellowship banner, and listened with such evident enjoyment to the speeches that the meeting was prolonged. Mrs. Despard, the President of the Women's Freedom League, joined us as a spontaneous manifestation of support and comradeship, and received a great welcome. The following resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, only six hands being held up against it:—

> "This meeting protests against the Government's attack upon the liberties of the people, and calls upon them to introduce a Bill giving equal franchise rights to men and women."

A dozen new members joined the Fellowship on the spot, and many more would have done so had the supply of membership cards been greater.

Two representatives from the Fellowship will be present next Saturday at the ceremonies connected with the funeral of Miss Davison. Our offering of tribute to her memory will take the form of a red cross of flowers, encircled with white, upon a purple background. The red cross is the symbol of sacrifice even to the death, the circle is the ancient symbol of womanhood, and its whiteness is typical of the purity of her passion, the purple background is the symbol of the dignity which she so nobly upheld, the dignity of womanhood which knows itself to be rightfully a sovereign half of a sovereign people, and will never abdicate its royalty VOTES FOR WOMEN will also send a special representative.

The next outstanding event in the development of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is the reunion in the large Portman Rooms on July 4, when announcements concerning the past and future will be made. The speakers on that occasion will be Miss Mary Neal, Hon. Sec. Esperance Girls' Club and Guild of Morris Dancers, the Rev F. M. Green, of St. Mark's, Tollington Park, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. All Fellows and their friends will be heartily welcomed.

The Bill for the Windows

We have received many letters of indignant sympathy from those who took part in the demonstration of November, 1911, and March, 1912, and from others expressing distress at the idea that the cost of all the damages done to windows on these occasions, as well as the costs of the prosecutions and Civil Actions, should fall upon the personal estate of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. We have been urged to open a subscription list in VOTES FOR WOMEN in order to give an opportunity for these and other friends to let the public see how they feel on the subject. One professional woman has sent 5s., saying, "If my purse matched my feelings, I should send £1,000."

In reply we warmly thank all our friends. We appreciate immensely the generous kindness of such suggestions, but we do not wish the expression of sympathy to take precisely this form. We consider it a privilege to be called upon to make this sacrifice of our substance just as we have considered it a privilege to make the sacrifice of our personal liberty on behalf of the far greater principle of human liberty involved in the struggle for the emancipation of women

We ask our friends who wish to express their sympathy in concrete form to do so, instead, by support of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship either financially or by means of service. So long as this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, was the property of an organisation, it received a considerable annual subsidy from it in order that it might not be restricted on the financial side, but might fearlessly incur expenditure required for the good of the movement as a whole. This subsidy was naturally lost to the paper when it became an independent journal. This loss can be made good in two ways, either by direct contributions to the Fellowship or by extending the circulation and increasing the advertisement revenue in such a way as to place the paper on a sound business footing. By helping in both these directions our friends in the Suffrage Movement can best express their kind and generous sympathy and their sense of oneness with us, which corresponds with our sense of oneness with them.

It must never be forgotten that the Fellowship exists for the main purpose of making the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN the joint enterprise of all the Fellows—and bye and bye, we hope, of all the readers of the paper. VOTES FOR WOMEN is the Fellowship's message to the outside public. VOTES FOR WOMEN is our weapon in the struggle against the opposition of the Government to women's emancipation.

No work, therefore, must be neglected that can add to its financial establishment or to its political influence. For this reason we call upon all Fellows individually to help to secure the display of posters. We ask them to become sellers of the paper in public places and to use all the resources of ingenuity to secure new permanent readers and subscribers.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Thanks are due to our sellers, especially to Mrs. Davies and Miss M. E. Thompson for their work at meetings. Now that summer is with us and holidays are commencing, more sellers are wanted to fill up the gaps left by those who are away. Volunteers will be welcome. Many more sellers are wanted for every day of the week. Do not fear that the paper will not sell when it is a few days old: it still sells well, and even half an hour given to this work is of use. Half-hours mount up.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To June 9, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	483	8	2	H. W. Nevinson, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. Ivory	10	0	0	Mrs. Moore	0	0	3
Anon......................	0	2	6	Mrs. Levy	0	2	6
Mrs. Harrison.........	1	0	0	Mrs Preston	0	5	0
Miss M. Andrews ...	1	1	0	Miss Brown............	0	2	0
Mrs. Ward	0	5	0	Mrs. Fleming Baxter	0	5	0
Per W.F.L. Meeting, Glasgow	15	5	0	Mrs. Ambrose-Upson	0	5	0
Miss C. J. Goring...	0	3	0	Miss H. Raisin	1	1	0
Miss V. Goldstein ...	0	5	0	Anon	0	1	0
Miss A. H. Dalgliesh	0	2	0	Miss L. Carruthers .	1	0	0
Mrs. Webb	5	5	0	Mrs. Morrison.........	0	2	6
Miss G. F. Larner...	1	2	6	Mrs. A. K. Richardson.....................	0	2	6
Miss B. Nicholson...	0	2	6	J. Greenhalgh, Esq ..	1	0	0
Miss M. L. Simeon...	0	1	0	Miss M. A. Simeon .	0	3	0
Mrs. Leah	1	5	0				
K. C. Mukejee, Esq.	0	5	0	Total	525	3	5

THE SALVATION OF HER SEX

A DIALOGUE

By Mabel Lawrence

HUSBAND *(entering drawing-room with his wife and glancing round)*: Well, I'm glad to be home again!

WIFE: Yes; six weeks is a long time!

HUSBAND *(settling into his armchair)*: It is! Tea coming?

WIFE: Soon I expect you want yours.

HUSBAND: I do; been travelling since ten o'clock. And I'm upset at something I saw just now.

WIFE: What was that?

HUSBAND: Those Suffragettes again! They're actually daring to sell their paper outside the Tube, near my own house! The police ought not to allow it! *(Waits for the sympathy that does not come.)* I got even with one of them, though; made her look silly!

WIFE: What did you do?

HUSBAND: She dared to offer *me* a paper! I snatched it from her and tore it up before her eyes. "That's what I think of your paper," I told her.

WIFE *(coldly)*: You paid her for it?

HUSBAND: Do you suppose I'd pay for that filthy gutter rag?

WIFE: Then you're just a common thief! You—*(restrains herself as she hears a child's step)*. Here are the children!

(Enter nurse carrying a baby and preceded by a delicate boy of three years. The mother takes the baby, the boy rushes into his father's arms.

HUSBAND *(after kissing the children, takes the boy on his lap and gives him a Teddy Bear from his bag. He looks at him anxiously)*: Dick's quite well again, is he?

WIFE: Oh, quite. Nurse Hayes brought him through splendidly.

HUSBAND: Nurse Hayes? That was the trained nurse you called in, wasn't it?

WIFE: Yes When the doctor said it was pneumonia—three days after you left—I knew I couldn't face it alone, as I've not been strong since Baby was born, and this nurse is no good for real illness. So I got Nurse Hayes to come I can't tell you what she was to me. It was just magic the way she nursed him. *(Speaks slowly and with emotion.)* And that night, when the doctor said if he was not better in the morning, I must wire for you . . . . I broke down and could not stay in the room, but Nurse was perfect. She knew just what to do, and was so calm and strong. In the morning the doctor came to me. "She's saved your boy," he said.

HUSBAND *(huskily)*: God bless her!

WIFE: I've asked her to tea to-day. I knew you would like to see her, and she's going to Cornwall to-morrow for three months, so this was her only chance.

HUSBAND: I shall be proud to meet her. Women like that are the salvation of their sex! They make one believe in women in spite of those——

(Ring at the bell.)

WIFE: There she is! *(The maid opens the door and shows in a prettily-dressed girl.)*

DICK *(running to her)*: Nurse Hayes! Look what Daddy brought me out of his bag!

HUSBAND *(recognising the paper-seller)*: My God!

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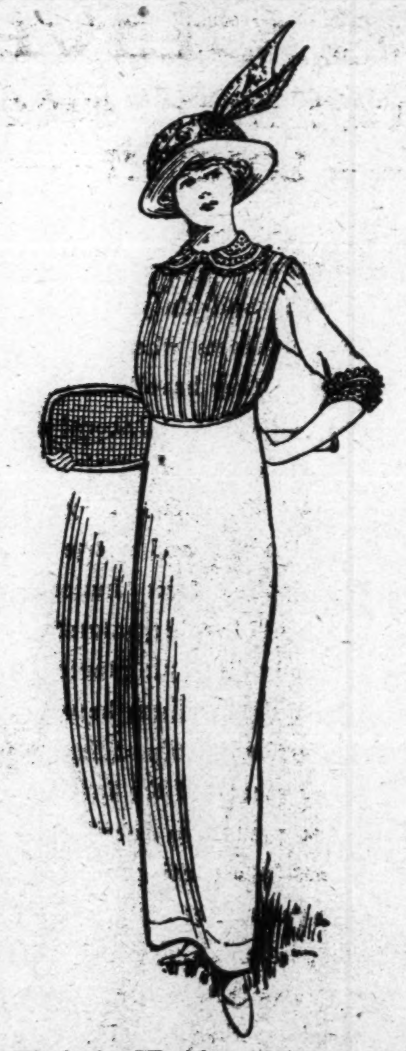
102, Kensington High St., W. 85 & 86, Cheapside, E.C
Agents in all principal towns. Address on application.



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AN IDEAL HOLIDAY FROCK
Price 14/11 (Can be sent on approval.)
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255 & 257, REGENT STREET, W, LONDON.
(Corner Oxford Circus.)

TWO PLAYS

WHY DOES THE BOOK END THERE?

Sylvia Temple, on the eve of her marriage, allows her betrothed, George Herbert, to read to her a book called "Love Among the Roses." As might be expected, the story ends with marriage-bells, flowers, and sunshine, when the lord of the manor unites himself to the most beautiful woman in England, while the villagers applaud. Now, Sylvia wants to know "Why the book ends there?" What is the truth about life after marriage? George cannot tell her, and flings the book down in a temper because she *will* keep asking. Her father and mother cannot tell her, nor can her married sister and her husband. In perplexity she asks if marriage is not interesting, decent, desirable? If so, why does the book end there? Her parents know that they have passed their married life in quarrelling; her sister knows that she has wasted her own youth; Sylvia, seeing failure all round her, yet feels that there must be something lasting and beautiful to be got out of married life. She gets her answer finally from an old friend, Hugh Dellamy, but what that answer is it would not be fair to say, as this* is certainly a play that ought to be read. And reading it is indeed a pleasure. The brisk, true dialogue, the wit, the freshness, and the charm, and the serious thought behind it all, carry one on from page to page irresistibly.

Yet, for all the dash and brilliancy of Mr. Fernald's play, for all it has such an air of daring, the views it puts forth upon marriage are the orthodox ones of the Prayer Book. Its theme seems to be that the ideal of marriage which Christianity inculcates has so entirely lost touch with ordinary life that to re-affirm it is to be revolutionary. One can well imagine some modernity-muddled theatregoer feeling towards this play, because of its directness and simplicity, much as the Temple family did towards Dellamy, whom they accuse of attacking the "Rock on which society stands." "My dear Mr. Temple," says Dellamy—

> "If I should expound my views upon marriage, you would think, not that I was standing in the dock, but that you were sitting in your pew, sir."

That the real meaning of love-making does not end at the altar, that the serious and interesting part of life and of love follows after, that children should not "happen" but should be thought of beforehand—there is nothing new in all that; but it is put in a new way:—

> "Half of us, two-thirds of us, come into the world without a voice beforehand—unplanned, uninvited, unhoped for—fruits of a force we are neither strong enough to withstand nor wise enough to refine."

Dellamy's views on the economic position of the wife are put with great piquancy; and we like Sylvia's saying—

> "Can't you see that a woman's virtues are a woman's nature? Men didn't invent them."

But most of Sylvia's sayings are worth quoting. This play is an interesting statement of a certain attitude, and a useful satire on prudery and muddleheadedness; but like all statements of an attitude, it is one-sided. There is more in "romantic love" than the play allows; there are many happy childless marriages; there is a love between husband and wife as well as between mother and father; and, surely, few families are so disagreeable among themselves in private as the unhappy Temple group.

J. E. M.

THE MAID

The place above all others in which to read of and ponder on the mysterious Maid of France, in whose honour the annual rejoicings have just been celebrated, is undoubtedly a prison cell. For it is there that one realises with an intensity difficult to put into words how that same spirit (born of stupidity and fear) which sent Joan to the stake is sending Englishwomen to prison to-day, because they, too, inspired by a passionate desire to serve their country, do things that clash with the conventions of unimaginative minds.

To the literature on the subject there has recently been added a historical play, "The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc," by Mr. Edward Garnett (Sidgwick and Jackson, 3s. 6d. net). In his preface Mr. Garnett acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Douglas Murray's translation of "The Processes of Condemnation and Rehabilitation" (Heinemann), which, he remarks, is too little known. In order to bring the mass of material within the limits of five acts, sixteen principal characters have been selected from those concerned in the trials, and the various stages have been necessarily "telescoped." One gets a vivid picture of the terrible events which took place during the spring of 1431, when a woman whom all her fellow-villagers united in describing as simple and pure, most lovable, very religious, intensely courageous, and inspired by great and unassailable faith in her mission, fought for liberty, struggling in the meshes of "the net dragged by the hands of the English and of Cauchon and his creatures." One extract, from the last scene, in the old market place of Rouen, on May 30, 1431, will give an idea of the vivid style:—

THE THREE TOWNSMEN *(pointing)*: "Look at the Sergeants! Look, look! They have seized her, they are pushing her towards the cart! There's the Bailli behind, and Master Guesdon. That's the executioner. Now he's got her! he's got her! Ah, poor woman, she's struggling with him. Now they are forcing her into the cart."

WOMAN I.: "She looks half dead! The poor lamb! Oh! Christ be merciful to her!"

WOMAN II.: "Look at the holy priests! They are all hurrying off the scaffold! They are all weeping! They don't want to see her burned! Why didn't they save her?"

Why, indeed? We learn from the story of the trials why. They were afraid, afraid for their lives if they dared to stand up against the tyrant power. The contrast between the cowardice of these men and the sublime courage of the victim is very marked.

Why didn't they save her? Will that question have to be asked—and answered—in the twentieth century? The time of heavenly voices and visions is not yet past; the spirit of Joan of Arc, no less than that other sinister spirit that persecutes what it cannot understand, and therefore fears, is in our midst to-day. Will the little unimaginative official minds realise it before it is too late?

G. V.

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* "The Married Woman: A Play in Three Parts." By C. B. Fernald. (Sidgwick and Jackson. 3s. 6d.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Poems." By Alice Meynell. (London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. Price 5s. net.)

"The Garden of Ignorance. The Experiences of a Woman in a Garden." By Mrs. George Cran, F.R.H.S. (London: Herbert Jenkins. Price 5s. net.)

"Joyous Gard." By A. C. Benson. (London: John Murray. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Pressing Questions. Profit-Sharing. Women's Suffrage. Electoral Reform." By A. H. Mackmurdo. (London: John Lane. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Olivia's Latchkey." By Hubert Bland. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 2s. net.)

"Labour and Industry in 1913." The Times Series. (London: John Murray. Price 1s. net.)

"The Junior Woman Secretary." By Annie Davis. (London: Pitman. Price 1s. net.)

"The Englishwoman." June. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review." June. (Manchester: The Vegetarian Society, 257, Deansgate. Price 1d.)

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FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1913.

"GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN"

The tragic death of Emily Wilding Davison has produced a deep impression. The echo of her act of reckless self-immolation has gone round the world and has struck the vibrating strings of awe and compassion in thousands of hearts not indifferent to the appeal of a defiant human deed. She died for an idea that had become the master passion of her life.

But this fact has not silenced a bitter attack upon her and upon her motives, made in many political journals, which have tried in every conceivable way to belittle the significance of her action.

The jockey who was injured will be riding again, it is said, in a few days The horse is unhurt. The woman is dead. And those who knew Miss Davison in life know that thus by the Ruler of all destinies has her passionate prayer been granted. The last thought, before all power of thought was swept away by the impetus of the will that dashed her into the arena, was one passionate cry of the heart that none should suffer save only herself Of that we are sure, because it was in accordance with the spirit of her life, which was instinct with the love of all humanity.

Those who must of necessity argue, even in the presence of such a fate, are making much of the contention that the jockey might have been injured, that he might even have been killed. And that there was risk of injury or of life to others besides Miss Davison cannot be denied. But in ordinary fairness, this consideration ought to be given the same but no greater weight than that accorded it in similar circumstances common to daily life.

When, for instance, the Government called out the soldiers to suppress the riots in Tonypandy, two absolutely innocent persons were killed by the rifles which were fired over the heads of the mob—persons who not only had taken no part in the riot, but were not even concerned in the dispute between the mine-owners and the employed. Everyone is well aware that such a risk is inevitable when a volley is fired in the open streets. All deplored the tragedy, yet the general public were not directed by the journals of the day to execrate the Government. It was a risk that the great majority considered those in authority were justified in taking, even though as a matter of fact these actual fatalities occurred, two persons altogether outside the quarrel being victims. People recognised that the absence of any deliberate purpose of injuring the innocent exonerated from crime those who gave the order, not, it may be said, in any spirit of self-sacrifice, but with an honest (even though, as some held, mistaken) concern for the common good.

Miss Davison was actuated in her attempt to hold up the Derby race by the conviction that only this way was left open to her of forcing home to the conscience and mind of the nation the determination of women to win at all costs their liberties. She made of her own life a voluntary offering. No fatality or serious injury to others occurred. The sacrifice of her life was accepted. Even those who do not understand the reasons by which this woman was prompted; even those who are ignorant of the movement to which she gave her body and her soul; even those who are by temperament too cautious or too cold or too worldly to be moved by reckless generosity or high passion, might well withhold their criticism in the presence of death.

Those who can understand the secret of Miss Davison's character and the significance of her offered-up life, will realise in this tragedy a call to a new dedication of themselves to the cause of human emancipation. Her action was the outcome of all that she as an individual had felt, all she had learned, all she had suffered. It was unique. It was characteristic of herself alone She was imbued with the conviction which she had often expressed to her colleagues, that in her own country, in the special circumstances that had brought into being the militant woman's movement, there would be no redemption wrought out for her sex until a victim's life had been given. It is an old idea—old as the human heart itself. It is the origin of all sacrificial ceremonial of all religions, and of countless traditions and customs which survive in modern life.

She gave no thought to the fact that she was a woman who had reaped academic honours, to whom life had offered a career. She gave no thought to the fact that she possessed literary powers, and that the columns of the Press, closed to many, opened themselves often almost unaccountably to her vivid and able pen. She chose to give what she felt was needed most, her very life.

There are thousands of Suffragists who have taken risks hardly less great simply in the course of the day's ordinary work and duty. They have been stoned into unconsciousness when addressing audiences in the open air; they have been assaulted with the utmost fury by stewards at Liberal meetings for putting a question or interpolating a relevant remark to a Cabinet Minister. They have, in the exercise of the old right and usage of personal petition, faced a police force instructed to use illegal violence instead of making arrests. They have met the mind and body destroying torture of forcible feeding. Some have died. Many have been injured for life. Their sacrifice is only different from that of Miss Davison by reason of the fact that they did not court death as part of a sacrificial faith. To them death was merely a contingency to be accepted if necessary in the pursuance of their mission.

To many, high passion's inexorable demands have come in different terms altogether In obedience to its mandate some have thrown aside life's ease and comfort; some have given up professional ambition, others leisure or social success or personal friendship or means of livelihood.

May the greatness of Miss Davison's spirit have a twofold result May it help to awaken public opinion to the urgency of women's emancipation and the iniquity of the present methods of repression. And may it bring home to all the men and women united in service to this movement the realisation that in sacrifice it was created, in sacrifice it has thriven, and by sacrifice alone it will triumph.

IN WOMEN'S SHOES

First Part of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Address to the Jury—June 7, 1913

Gentlemen,—I am going to ask you to put yourselves as men in the position in which women find themselves to-day, so that you may understand the motive of the charge that has been brought against us. I want you to imagine that you as men, not only you yourselves, but your whole sex, are governed by laws that are made for you solely and entirely by women. I want you to imagine yourselves transgressing those laws, and then being forced to go before women judges, to put your case before a jury of women; and I want to ask you whether, in such a case as this, you would not consider this to be an intolerable position. Do you not think that you would be so deeply sensible of the injustice, so deeply sensible of the public grievance, that you would be moved to make demonstrations of protest against this condition of affairs; and that if your milder protests were disregarded you would go on making stronger and stronger protests until you had convinced women that it was not possible to govern men without their consent? I want you by taking that point of view to realise that these women were not wrought up to do what they did by mere words such as you have heard given in the evidence, but that they took this action, each one of them, individually and deliberately, inspired by their own political judgment and their own moral conscience.

Since the days of Magna Carta

There is an old maxim of the British Constitution to the effect that taxation and representation shall go together. It has been a recognised truth more or less since the days of Magna Carta. Gentlemen, this question should appeal to you and to all men, for twice have civil wars been waged simply for the vindication of this principle. In the seventeenth century the men of this country rose; property was damaged and destroyed, lives were sacrificed, a King lost his head. Again, in the eighteenth century, you remember that thousands of pounds' worth of tea were thrown into Boston harbour, that private and public property was destroyed again, that lives were sacrificed, and that this country lost the American Colonies as part of her Imperial inheritance. But we need not go back to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. In the lifetime of all who are here, a great war has been waged which cost one hundred millions of money, in which thousands of farmhouses were burned to the ground, a war that cost the sacrifice of little children's lives as well as the lives of a great many men—and for what? What did Lord Salisbury tell us: "We seek not to extend our territories, we want no goldfields, this war is being waged to secure equal rights for all whites." That is why this war of women in revolt is being waged, only with methods infinitely less violent, of infinitely less cost to the public, fraught with infinitely less suffering to everybody. But the principle is the same—equal rights for all whites—representation and taxation shall go together.

There are also the actual disabilities that arise from the fact that women have to obey laws in the making of which they have no voice. I am not going to touch upon all those disabilities, but I will just remind you there has recently been a Divorce Commission, and the members of that Commission put their fingers on one outstanding, glaring injustice—that the conditions by which men and women could secure divorce were not equal. Yet we hear of no statement of the Government that they intend to remedy that defect in the law, and women possess no power whatever of a constitutional kind to bring pressure upon the Government to have that particular grievance redressed.

In the Teeth of the Women's Agitation

Then I point to two recent Acts of legislation which have been carried in the very teeth of this women's agitation. One is the decree that a salary of £400 a year should be paid to every Member of Parliament. It may be quite right that men should be taxed to pay the salaries of their servants who represent them in the House of Commons, but the women are perforce made to pay the salaries of people who do not represent them; and when we go to these members of Parliament they turn round and tell us, "You are not our constituents; we have no time to attend to your matters; we have to consider the grievances of our constituents."

The second Act that has been carried in the teeth of this women's agitation is the Insurance Act. In a recent election a wire was sent by the Prime Minister to say that the grievances of the electors under this Act would be remedied by the Government. But in addition to the grievances that men have under that Act, women have distinct grievances of their own that have never been taken account of. The Act, besides giving sick benefit, provides against permanent invalidity, a premature old age pension for men, but it provides no invalidity pension, no premature old age pension for the great majority of women who are the wives of men. Why is that? Because the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not take into account that whereas a man sells his labour and gets cash for it to support his family, the wife of the working-man gives her labour direct to the home. The economic value of the labour is precisely the same; he earns, she saves, and the 4d. is paid out of the joint labour. If the man becomes old, he is secured for life, while if the man dies all that money dies with him, and the widow is left with her impaired strength, in her premature old age, with no alternative except the sweated labour market or the workhouse.

If Babies were Pigs?

We women are often told that our most sacred duty and our greatest privilege is the nurture and the care of little children. We accept that. We believe that most women's lives are based on that; but what have we women to say to this fact, that out of every 1,000 children born into this world, 110 die in the first year of their lives? There are, roughly, 1,000,000 children born into this country every year, and the rate of mortality amongst them is 100,000. We are told by the doctors and by the people who prepare these reports that this tremendously heavy death-rate is due to preventible causes. I venture to put it to you that if there were a death-rate of 100 pigs out of every thousand there would immediately be a Commission—the thing would be discussed in Parliament, drastic remedies would be taken and put in force. Why is that? Because pigs belong to men's sphere; men are concerned with the care and nurture of pigs, but children—babies—belong to women's sphere.

Human beings value what they pay for. That is true, is it not? The reason why these windows are valued is that they cost money, and it costs money to replace them. I want to ask you, then, who pays for human life? Is it not true that whatever men pay for, the great cost of human life is paid by women? Gentlemen, you and I only enjoy this existence at the price of the labour and the suffering—it may be of death itself—of some woman. That is true of everyone in the world. Five thousand women die every year in giving birth to the next generation. That is why *we* value human life; we pay for it. That is why we feel that we must have the power—the political power—that will give us the opportunity to protect human life. We are not only thinking of these 100,000 children who die in the first year of their lives, we are thinking of the 900,000 who survive, whose lives are crippled by the same influences that caused the death of the 100,000. Perhaps you will say to me, "Is this anything to do with women's suffrage?" I say emphatically yes. In Australia and New Zealand, where women have the vote, the death-rate is 62 and 67 per 1,000 respectively, while in Canada, where women have not the vote, the death-rate is higher than here, namely, 132. Yet in 1893 the death-rate in South Australia was among the highest in the world. The next year the vote was given to women there, and immediately they, as housekeepers and mothers, as those responsible essentially and primarily for the care of human life, pressed forward food and housing legislation, with the result that in 1909 the mortality rate was less by one-half what it had been in 1893, before women got the vote.

Before Windows were Broken

"But," you will say, "broken windows could not help to save the children, and could not bring about a better state of things." It is now my business to prove that in the opinion of the women of the country they could. You must remember that petitions far greater in number have been sent to Parliament for this reform than for any other reform, and that over a period of fifty years greater meetings have been held in support of this reform than for any other political reform in the whole range of this country, or the world. In 1908 a great meeting in Hyde Park was held, the demonstration cost thousands of pounds, and we were told in the newspapers, especially by the correspondent of the *Times*, that the number of people gathered together on that spot were certainly half a million, and possibly three-quarters of a million. You have heard one of the police witnesses yesterday say about one of our processions that in all his experience he had never seen a procession like it. We have broken the records, we cannot have bigger meetings and larger processions; the police have told us it is not compatible with the safety of human life.

We have further secured the pledges of two-thirds of the members of the House of Commons by constitutional agitation; we induced over 120 of the Town Councils of the biggest towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland to send up petitions to Parliament praying that the Conciliation Bill should be passed. In 1870 a Suffrage Bill passed its second reading; it has passed its second reading again and again—in 1910 by a majority of 110, in 1911 by a majority of 167—a greater majority than any majority the Government got for any of its own proposals. Then, after we had secured Mr. Asquith's pledge that if it passed in the next session facilities should be given, in Novembr, 1911, all our hopes of getting this constitutional measure passed were frustrated by the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill. No meetings had been held for Manhood Suffrage; no demands and no petitions had been sent in for it, and no processions had taken place. The Manhood Suffrage Bill was brought in in order that Women's Suffrage might be torpedoed. That is the word Mr. Lloyd George used—"torpedoed."

Holes that were Mouths

It was at this point that women realised that petitions and processions and meetings could not draw attention to these grievances so deeply felt by women; that an attempt was being made to put the movement back into the position it was in after 1884, when the Bill was thrown out and the movement became quite moribund. It was then only, in 1911, that women decided some other means of expression should be given to call the attention of the people, and those means they took. I tell you those holes in those windows were mouths, calling the attention of the public to the fact that 100,000 little children's lives are destroyed every year, and that the suffering of 100,000 mothers has been given in vain. Do you wonder, gentlemen, at the indignation felt by women? Do you think it needed our words or our incitement to drive women to protest?

[*A summary of the whole of Mrs. Lawrence's speech appears on p. 544, and we propose to print a verbatim extract from the second part of the speech in our issue next week.*]

TO AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

You ask me to listen to the noise of shattered glass and to condemn the breakers.
Ah, friend, I cannot hear it for the sound of the wailing of outraged children;
You point me to the ruins of burnt houses, but I cannot see them,
For my eyes are running over with tears for my sweated sister, half-starved, bending over her work.
You show me a few blackened letters, and I ask you for an accounting of the little human messages lost every year to protected vice.
You talk of wire-cutting and spoiled turf, and I ask you this question:
"Why is a child's lost innocence, a child's marred body of less importance to a judge in a Christian land than damaged property?"
I see everywhere about me wretchedness, unnecessary poverty, misrule, tyranny, lust, and dishonour,
And I know that had women a voice much of this evil might be overcome;
Yet you ask me to blame violent protest on the part of the women of England.
I say to you, O blind one, O weak one, O cowardly one,
I say it not only to you, but I shout it to the world,
I shout it to the great Heaven where God watches:
"Is there no wilder cry, no fiercer fight? Is there no stronger weapon?
Give it into our hand, O God of battles!"

Almon Hensley.

THE BROKEN WINDOWS OF MARCH, 1912

Plaintiffs Win Action for Damages Against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and the Members of the W.S.P.U.

The hearing took place on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of last week, before Mr. Justice Darling, of a consolidated action for damages, in which five firms—Robinson and Cleaver (Limited), Swan and Edgar (Limited), Swears and Wells (Limited), the White House Linen Specialists (Limited), and T. J. Harries and Co. (Limited)—sued Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Mabel Tuke, on her own behalf, and as representing the Women's Social and Political Union. Damages were claimed from the defendants for wrongfully and maliciously conspiring and combining amongst themselves and/or amongst the members of the Women's Social and Political Union to procure certain members of the said Union to commit trespass and damage to goods and property of the plaintiffs.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., and Mr. Charles appeared for the plaintiffs; Mr. George Wallace, K.C., and Mr. Blanco White appeared for Mrs. Tuke only as representing all members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence defended the case in person. Mrs. Pankhurst had not put in any defence to the actions. Mrs. Tuke was not defended by herself or by counsel, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst had not been served with the writs.

The result of the action was that the jury returned a verdict against all the defendants for the whole amount claimed, viz., about £364; and judgment was entered accordingly, with costs against all the defendants referred to by name. So far as the members of the W.S.P.U., represented by Mr. Wallace, were concerned, an appeal was announced on a point of law, and execution was stayed pending the hearing of the appeal.

CASE FOR PLAINTIFFS

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, in opening the case for the plaintiffs, said that the action was one for conspiring to procure certain persons to break windows of the plaintiffs which were broken systematically on March 1, 1912. The plaintiff's windows had been insured, and the damage had been paid for. The actions were really brought by an insurance company in the names of the plaintiffs. The total amount of the damage done to the windows of the plaintiffs was £364 13s. There was no doubt that the attacks on the windows were planned and were not the fortuitous work of individuals. The women who broke them were arrested in the act, or immediately afterwards, each with a hammer in her hands. A number of other windows in London were broken, and 168 of these women who were arrested for breaking windows were bailed out by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. The remainder were bailed out by Mr. Marshall, the well-known solicitor to the Women's Social and Political Union. He would be able to show that all the persons arrested were subscribers to the Union.

The Women's Social and Political Union

The Women's Social and Political Union was founded in 1903 by Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was a member of it from the first. In 1905 Mrs. Pethick Lawrence joined the Union. Mr. Pethick Lawrence was not a member; apparently, there were only women members. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had been the joint editors of the paper of the union known as Votes for Women, and they bore a large portion of the expense of its production. Lately another paper, the *Suffragette*, had been substituted as the organ of the union. Between February of last year and March of this year the income of the union was £23,000.

Up till the year 1911 the actions of the union and its members were confined to waylaying Ministers, in a more or less harmless sort of way, and to interrupting politicians at meetings. In 1910 a private member of the House of Commons brought in a Bill to give votes to women; it was generally known as the Conciliation Bill. In 1911 it was re-introduced. The Government appeared to be divided upon this question, and the Prime Minister announced that he would bring in a Bill for giving manhood suffrage, and that it should be open to anyone to bring in an amendment to include women within its scope. This appeared to have given great umbrage to the union; it was thought to be in some way derogatory that women should obtain votes by an amendment to a mere Bill giving votes to men. These demonstrations were organised which took place on Nov. 21, 1911, March 1, 1912, March 4, 1912, and all resulted in violence and damage to property. At this time Mrs. Pankhurst was the honorary secretary to the union; their offices were at 3 and 4, Clement's Lane, but these were subsequently removed to Lincoln's Inn House, in Kingsway. Mrs. Tuke was another secretary of the union. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were joint editors of the paper Votes for Women. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was the organising secretary. In a volume he would hand up to the Bench containing twelve months' copies of this paper, he would show from speeches and articles there printed that these acts of violence were the work of this union. The jury must remember that this paper was published at the offices of the union. Thirty thousand copies were printed each week by the St. Clement's Press under an agreement with Mr. Pethick Lawrence, to whom weekly accounts were rendered and who paid them with his cheque. Barclay and Co. were the bankers of the union, and several accounts were kept. Cheques were signed by some four persons; each cheque had to be signed by two persons, one of whom, he thought, had to be either Mr. or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Union

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, continuing, said he would now direct the attention of the jury to the seventh annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union for the year ended February 28, 1913, a copy of which had been purchased from the new offices in Kingsway. This document was important to his cases as identifying the officers of the union at the material time and as showing its constitution and methods; it threw light upon the authorship of these deeds of violence. On the first page they would find this passage:—

"Militancy also has been extended in scope and increased in vigour, and from being merely symbolic, as in the old days, is now directed against property, the public as well as the Government feeling its effects, and human life alone being immune from attack."

Then on page 5 was the statement that the *Suffragette* had become the official organ of the W.S.P.U. in October, 1912. Mr. Tindal Atkinson then read the following passages:—

"Part of the educational work of the union consists in the issue of leaflets explaining why women want the vote, and why militant methods are adopted. A list of these leaflets is obtainable at Lincoln's Inn House. The latest issued include the two entitled 'Broken Windows' and 'Burnt Letters.'"

"Important Events of the Year.—Broken Windows.—The history of the year ending February, 1913, may be said to begin with the great window-breaking campaign in March, 1912. A skilfully planned secret attack on Friday, March 1, took the police and all London by surprise, for the protest had been expected to take place on the following Monday, March 4. This expectation was not wholly disappointed, for on that day another great window-breaking protest was made. Not all the London shopkeepers had at that time realised the futility and unfairness of laying the blame for window-breaking upon the militants instead of upon the Government. Therefore there was clamour for drastic punishment. The 267 arrested window-breakers who included the hon. secretaries of the union, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 14 days to six months."

This was a statement in the report of the union to its subscribers. He would submit that the union authorised and planned and adopted the acts of those who broke these windows. This passage alone showed the conspiracy.

The Legal Position of the W.S.P.U.

Mr. Justice Darling: What is the legal position of the Women's Social and Political Union?

Mr. Tindal Atkinson: It is a large association of persons which is not registered in any way. Mrs. Tuke is sued by order of the Court as representing the members as well as in her individual capacity.

Mr. Wallace then explained that he appeared on behalf of the members of the Union.

Mr. Atkinson proceeded to read a judgment of Lord Macnaughten delivered with regard to the Taff Vale Railway case, in the course of which he said, "I have no doubt whatever that a Trade Union, whether registered or unregistered, may be sued on a representative action if the persons selected as defendants be persons who from their position may be taken fairly to represent the body."

Mr. Justice Darling: That of course was the judgment which gave rise afterwards to the alteration of the law by the Trade Unions Acts.

Mr. Atkinson: It was where they got protection.

Mr. Justice Darling: But this Union is not a Trade Union, it is not within the protection of those Acts. It is in the position which the Trade Unions were in before those Acts were passed.

Mr. Wallace: Your lordship will not quite say that, because a Trade Union was a registered body.

Mr. Justice Darling: At all events, that is Mr. Atkinson's contention.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson then read further passages from the report, including the following:—

"That private citizens should be affected is inevitable, for this is war, and in all wars it is the private citizen who suffers the most. It is, in fact, by means of pressure upon the private citizen that an opposing force finally achieves its victory. Moreover, in this women's war for the vote the private citizen cannot reasonably complain of suffering the pains and penalties of warfare, because there is nobody who can plead innocence and irresponsibility where the question of votes for women is concerned."

Mr. Tindal Atkinson then wished to read the answers to certain interrogatories made by the defendants. Mr. Wallace objected, and after legal argument Mr. Tindal Atkinson said he would not press the matter.

Witnesses Excluded

Mr. Justice Darling then said that a suggestion had been made to him that certain persons had been excluded from the Court. The Courts, of course, were open to the public; but the safety of persons resorting to them must be safeguarded. If it were brought to his knowledge that some one had been excluded, he would send for the person who had excluded him and see if there were good reason for the exclusion. Addressing counsel, Mr. Justice Darling added:—One cannot shut one's eyes.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson then read a number of speeches and articles by Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst and by Mr. and Mrs Pethick Lawrence printed in Votes for Women, including an article by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, entitled "Broken Windows," a speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Albert Hall on November 16, a speech by Mrs. Pankhurst, entitled, "The Argument of the Broken Pane," and the appeals to volunteers.

EVIDENCE FOR PLAINTIFFS

Mr. J. M. Arno, staff superintendent of Robinson and Cleaver (Limited), described the smashing of the windows and his arrest of one of the suffragists.

In cross-examination by Mr. Lawrence, the witness said he remembered Olive Wharry, when on her trial for breaking these windows, saying that she and others were not led away by their leaders, but acted on their own initiative, holding the Government responsible.

A Hammer Produced

Further evidence by a large number of police-constables and others was given as to the acts of window-smashing by Olive Wharry and others at the shops of the different plaintiffs. One of the hammers was produced and handed to the jury.

Mr. Wallace: It is an extraordinarily ordinary hammer. (Laughter).

Mr. Atkinson said that they were only charging the defendants the cost price of the windows broken.

Evidence was then given that a large number of the women charged with window-breaking were bailed out by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, including Olive Wharry; the bail was of £5 each. It was also proved that Mr. Arthur Marshall, a member of the firm of solicitors representing the union, bailed out other women, the bail being the same.

In cross-examination by Mr. Lawrence, the witness said he had never seen a longer political procession than the women's procession to Hyde Park.

Inspector Crocker said that a large number of the women gave the offices of the W.S.P.U. at Clement's Inn as their address. Both Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence bailed them out.

Mr. R. Melhuish, of Fetter Lane, said he remembered a woman calling at his shop and asking for some hammers, bringing a sample one. He had twenty-four in stock; she wanted more, and took them all away, although he offered to send them. He had since seen the lady at Bordighera, Italy, Soon after the outrages he read the account of the window-smashing in the paper, and said to himself, "Ah, that's the lady that had my hammers," and gave information to the police. Evidence was given that Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence were the lessees of the Union's original offices in Clement's Inn, the leases being produced, some of them signed by Mrs. Lawrence, as honorary treasurer of the Union. Part of the premises were residential.

Mr. G. H. Hart, manager of the St. Clement's Press, said they printed Votes for Women in 1911 and 1912 under an agreement with Mr. Lawrence. The circulation was about 30,000 weekly. They received instructions at the offices of the union. He was paid by cheques signed by Mr. Lawrence.

Men Made the Rules of Evidence!

Mr. Justice Darling: You must not say by whom they were signed. These rules of evidence may seem very absurd, but they were only made by men. (Laughter.)

Continuing, the witness said that on one occasion he declined (to Mr. Lawrence) to print a handbill headed "Broken Windows." The annual turnover in connection with Votes for Women would be about £2,000 a year. The printed copies were delivered to 4, Clement's Inn.

Cross-examined, he said that the cheques in payment for the printing of Votes for Women were drawn by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, as a rule, on the Votes for Women account.

Mr. John McCarthy, Superintendent of the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard, said that at 9.30 p.m. on March 5, 1912, he went with other officers to the offices of the Union at Clement's Inn and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others. He told them he was going to search the premises, and after taking his prisoners to the police station he did so. He found a number of the employees of the union in the room where he had found Mr. Lawrence, and in other rooms. They were engaged in preparing lists of the persons who had been arrested on the previous day—March 4. Mr. McCarthy then produced a number of documents he had found at the Clement's Inn offices.

In cross-examination by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, he said that he was aware that on Novemebr 21, 1911, an attempt was made by a number of women to enter the House of Commons. He was aware that about a year before a large number of women were in conflict with the police for several hours. He was aware that the women complained of their treatment on that occasion, which they referred to as "Black Friday." He had heard that they would not expose themselves to that sort of treatment again, and that they would resort to other tactics—stone-throwing, he presumed. There was a suggestion that there should be an inquiry as to what had taken place in November, 1910. He made a hasty selection of documents at the offices, and a more careful choice later. He did not know whether he would have selected such a speech as the following:—

"Violence is always deplorable, so is bloodshed, yet violence and bloodshed in Ulster would be an incomparably smaller misfortune than cowardly acquiescence in a revolution which if consummated would assuredly plunge the whole country into civil war." Nor did he know that it was an extract of a speech made by Mr. F. E. Smith.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence: You read the speeches of women who fight for the franchise, but not the speeches of men who may be taking revolutionary courses in other methods of government.

Witness: My time will not allow me to wade through columns of papers to read political speeches.

Mr. Justice Darling: You have established this, Mr. Lawrence, that a person who has a vote does not read political speeches, and a number of people who have not got a vote do. (Laughter.)

Cross-examined by Mr. Wallace, the witness said that he knew the Union had carried on a great deal of legitimate political agitation. Up to a certain point their work had been quite legitimate. He was a witness at the Central Criminal Court on the trial of some of the defendants for conspiracy, and it was not contended there that the Union was an illegal association of itself.

Mr. Justice Darling: It is quite legitimate to form a society to get the franchise, if people care for it, just as it would be to form a society to get rid of it.

In re-examination, the witness said that for about a year before March, 1912, he had instructed the police to attend meetings of the Union and to take notes of what was said, to see if there was any incitement to outrage.

Mr. Robert Bullen proved that the damage to the plaintiffs from the breaking of windows was £364 13s. 9d.

This evidence closed the case for the plaintiffs.

Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to Speak Last

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that neither he nor his wife would call any evidence, and he therefore claimed to have the last speech before the summing up.

Mr. Justice Darling agreed.

Members Joining W.S.P.U. After March 1912

Mr. Wallace said that he wished to make a submission with regard to the representation order made on December 3, 1912, to the effect that Mrs. Tuke should defend the action on behalf of the members of the union. The damage complained of was all finished on March 1, 1912, and assuming for a moment—though he should strenuously contest it—that all the members who were at that time members of the Union were responsible for that damage, that responsibility could not extend to those who joined the Union after March 1. This was not an indictment for conspiracy, but an action in which the conspiracy was no part of the cause of action. The action was one on the case for the damage and for nothing else. Some 2,800 members joined after March 1, and he submitted that he was entitled to a verdict for them. He referred to O'Keefe v. Walsh (1903, 2 I.R., 681).

Mr. Justice Darling said that he should not interfere now; the matter could be discussed after the verdict.

CASE FOR THE W.S.P.U.

Mr. Wallace, in opening the case to the jury for the members of the Union, said he would not trouble them with any remarks as to those members of the Union who joined after March 1, but he would like to say something as to the other members. These on March 1 amounted to at least 16,000. The object of the Union, naturally, was to get as many members as they possibly could, and accordingly the entrance fee was one shilling only. It had been in existence some six years before March 1. He was not going to ask them to say that there was no conspiracy; he was not going to be so impertinent to them as to say that on a certain date these windows were broken by the interposition of Providence. (Laughter.)

Mr. Justice Darling: The old form charged that these things were done at the instigation of the Devil.

Mr. Wallace said he admitted there was a conspiracy within the Union to break windows by way of showing the Government primarily, and afterwards the electorate, the view some of the leaders took of the conduct of the Government; and he was not going to suggest that, because Mrs. Pankhurst thought the Government was a bad and unreliable one, that was an excuse for going on breaking the windows of somebody who was not the Government, somebody who was possibly an ardent supporter of the suffrage for women. That was a wanton act, and ought to be paid for by those guilty of it. Mrs. Pankhurst, who from one point of view must be admired, had put in no defence to this action; she did not pretend to go back on anything she had said or done. But he was appearing on behalf of thousands not in any way privy to these offences, yet this action was brought against them. He admitted, as far as he could admit it, that the window-breakers had acted under the instigation of some of the leaders of the Union. But one could not be a conspirator by accident. If a man sent ten guineas to his club, he would not be guilty of conspiracy with the committee if they took it into their heads to do something unlawful. The letters written by Mrs. Pankhurst showed only a conspiracy with the persons to whom they were addressed. She addressed some of the members, those who were prepared to make great sacrifices, financially and otherwise, and selected them specially for her purposes. But how could they fairly find that every member of this Union was in the conspiracy? In their heart of hearts they were satisfied that they were not. Mrs. Pankhurst had written to Dr. Ethel Smythe, referring to other members of the Union:—"These women who come to me with their pros and cons, their families and claims, if I could only let out at them it would be better; but this, of course, I cannot do, and must just listen and bear it." Let them for a moment look at Mrs. Pankhurst's office. She was full of enthusiasm; she called on the women to come out, to go out to their death if need be; and they wailed to her, and would not do it; they would not conspire, and that letter, not written for the purposes of this case, showed what really took place, the true facts—namely, that the conspiracy was not one to which all the members of the Union were parties. It was undoubtedly a fact that militancy had taken place before this window-smashing; but he would call before them some fair samples of members of the Union—members who had never taken part in militancy of any kind, and had resigned from the Union because they disapproved of militancy.

Up to these window-breaking outrages there had not been any organised conspiracy, and it would not be fair as between man and woman to say that mere membership of the Union was enough to prove this conspiracy. The militancy which had taken place before this was of a different kind—namely, that attending the deputations to the House of Commons. A deputation did not seem a very turbulent thing, but when it consisted of a large number of persons, and the Government forces thought they ought not to be there at all, and there were numbers of other persons there who did not approve of the deputation, there were sure to be some assaults. The militancy in the present case was of an entirely different kind, to which all the members could not be said to have assented. What the jury was asked to say was that, because people had subscribed their shillings and had approved of the earlier kind of militancy to which he had referred, they had conspired to break these windows. He submitted that they ought not, on those grounds, to find a verdict against the members of the Union.

EVIDENCE FOR W.S.P.U.

Lady Sybil Smith, of Rolls Park, Chigwell, said she joined the Union in 1909, and resigned in the earlier part of this year. She did not think it right to attack private property herself, but thought it was a matter for the individual conscience. She thought it right that others should do so if they thought it right.

Mr. Justice Darling: Then there are as many codes as there are persons?

As many moral codes, yes. She had never taken any part in these attacks. She had worked for the Union by organising meetings, and by singing in public. She had formed part of a deputation to Parliament, and had been arrested for obstructing the police. She did not know beforehand that there were going to be the outrages in question. She resigned because out of sympathy with the policy of the leaders.

In cross-examination by Mr. Atkinson the witness said she disapproved of taking part in acts of violence. She was a Tolstoyan; if she were not she might feel differently.

Do you approve of injury to Government property?—If I thought it would get the vote I might. But that does not extend to individuals, as I am a Tolstoyan who disapproved of injury to individuals.

Mr. Justice Darling: Would Tolstoy have objected to the destruction of the Houses of Parliament?—I can't speak for him. The cost of the Houses of Parliament would be spread over so many people that it would not be felt by anyone. It is a question of degree.

Mr. Justice Darling: But each individual would be injured to the extent of his share?—Yes.

Mr. Justice Darling: Then it comes to this, that you may hurt an individual, but you must not hurt him much. (Laughter.)

Mr. Atkinson: Did you receive the document inviting you to take part in demonstrations, contemplating arrests?—I must have done; but there had been arrests when there were deputations. If there was any incitement to destroy private property in VOTES FOR WOMEN before November, I never read it.

Mrs. Hippesley

Mrs. Hippesley said she joined the Union in 1909, resigning in October, 1912. She had taken part in parades and had sold papers. No charge had ever been brought against her. She did not know there was to be window-breaking in November. She heard in a private letter, when abroad, that there was going to be window-breaking in March. She would not break windows herself.

Would you break a Government window?—I don't know. (Laughter.) I wouldn't go out with a stone to do it.

Mr. Atkinson: But suppose a stone was lying handy and a large Government pane of glass—(laughter)—was there, wouldn't you throw it?—I hope not; but I would not swear I would not.

Continuing, she said she was aware of a change of policy on the part of the Union. She read the papers and VOTES FOR WOMEN, and knew what was being done. She read that windows were going to be broken.

Did you approve of it?—No.

Did you disapprove of it?—I do not approve of attacking private property.

You read about the attacks on private property, and did not resign until six months later?—I had private reasons. I resigned when I thought they were going further in the direction of militancy than I liked.

Did you draw the line at setting fire to houses and letters in pillar-boxes?—Yes.

A Subscriber, but Not a Member

Miss Sophia Strangways, daughter of the Attorney-General of South Australia, said she had subscribed to the Union. She knew nothing of the window-breaking until she saw it in the papers. She had taken no part in any form of militancy. She had promised to give money at the last meeting at the Albert Hall in the hope of stopping this sort of thing. Money had more effect on people than anything else.

In cross-examination the witness said she thought it no worse to commit acts of violence than the throwing of stones at an election. She would not leave a party on that ground.

That, perhaps, is why you still subscribe?—I never signed any membership card.

Have you heard of the firing of houses?—I had no reason to believe it was done by suffragists. I have no doubt it was done by anti-suffragists.

Mr. Justice Darling: Why did you adopt these opinions?—When some of my friends were sent to prison for standing at the corner of a square.

Mr. Justice Darling: Because your friends were sent to prison you thought women ought to have votes?—I first began to think of it then.

Mrs. Aldridge

Mrs. Aldridge, of 41, Russell Square, examined by Mr. Blanco White, said she was a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and she had spoken at various meetings of the Union.

Have you taken part in any militancy?—No.

With your knowledge of the Union, what proportion of its work consists of militancy?—A very small proportion as compared with the constitutional work of the Union.

When did you first hear of any window breaking?—After the event. I did not hear before they were broken that they were going to be broken.

Continuing, the witness said that at the meetings she had attended she had never heard any incitement to violence, and she had never been asked to take part in any militant action. She was still a member of the Union.

Cross-examined by Mr. Tindal Atkinson, the witness said that she had heard of the tea house at Kew Gardens having been burnt down, and of the attempt on Mr. Harcourt's house at Nuneham. She had heard that a suffragette got penal servitude for setting fire to a theatre.

Did you approve of this?—Yes, if she justified her conduct to herself.

Mr. Justice Darling: Do you approve of any conduct which the doer justifies to himself?

Mrs. Kenyon said that she had joined the W.S.P.U. in 1908 at Manchester. She had signed the card.

Had you at any time the intention of damaging property?—No.

Have you attended meetings of the Union?—Yes.

Up to the time of this window breaking in March, 1912, had you heard of any incitement to damage property?—No.

Cross-examined by Mr. Tindal Atkinson, the witness said she had joined a deputation in 1909. She had done nothing since then. She had heard about the window breaking the day afterwards from the daily papers. She had had no knowledge that they were going to be broken. She did not see the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, regularly. As far as she could recollect, she did not know the windows were going to be broken. She was still a member of the Union. She should not like to say whether she disapproved of the militant tactics of the Union. She intended to remain a member of the Union; militancy was a very small portion of its work. If she had approved of militant tactics she would have joined in them, and she had not joined in them.

Mr. Justice Darling: Do you belong to this Union to procure votes for women?—Yes.

Do you think that window breaking will help to get votes for women?—I am not sure.

Is it because you are not sure that you do not join in it?—I think it is.

Mr. Wallace then made his closing remarks to the jury. He said he asked them not to confound the innocent with the guilty. With regard to the witnesses he had called yesterday, if they had come with the idea of not telling the truth they would have told a very different story; but it was obvious that they had a great affection and admiration for Mrs. Pankhurst, and would not say that they disapproved of conduct which satisfied the conscience of Mrs. Pankhurst. He must admit that there was a conspiracy between her and some 200 of the members of the Union; he appeared on behalf of the innocent members. Were all the members of the United Irish League—he thought that was the name—guilty of the murders of officials which took place in Ireland some years ago? He asked the jury so far as the innocent members of the W.S.P.U. were concerned to find a verdict in their favour.

CASE FOR PLAINTIFF

Mr. Tindal Atkinson said this case was a very important one indeed, for it was the first attempt to make the funds of the Union liable for the damage done in the course of this campaign; and if they

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found that these funds were liable, then they would also be liable for all the subsequent damage done, far exceeding the value of that claimed for in this action, caused by the burning of houses and churches. It was this that constituted the real importance of this case. Mr. Wallace said that the thousands of subscribers to the Union, who had subscribed to it for years with a full knowledge and approbation of the conduct of the leaders, were not liable for the damage resulting, and that all this damage had been done by Mrs. Pankhurst alone, with the assistance of a few members of the Union, for which they alone were liable. They had heard the language addressed to enthusiastic meetings of members of the Union by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and others, and that employed in the official organs and publications of the Union. The question for them on this part of the case was whether the damage done in this action—putting aside the subsequent damage of which he had spoken—was the result of the acts of the Union as a whole or that only of Mrs. Pankhurst and her assistants. They would be doing injustice to their own intelligence, after hearing this language, if they found that the latter only were liable. He submitted to them that every person belonging to an association of this kind who remained a member of it after knowledge of what was being done in her name, was as much responsible pecuniarily for the damage done as those persons who actually took part in doing it. It was an accident, and in some respects a disastrous fact, that the Union consisted of large numbers of members; but, for the purposes of illustration, let them assume that it consisted of a dozen members only. Suppose that six of these members decided that for the accomplishment of the purposes of the Union it was necessary to commit crime, and did commit it, and that the other six took no active part in its commission, but still remained members and subscribers. Could it be suggested that these other six were not liable for what was done by the others with their knowledge, approval, and assistance? Mr. Wallace had been unfortunate in the parcel of samples of innocent members of the Union whom he had called before them yesterday. He had put them forward as persons who, being members of the Union, the moment they heard of these outrages, had severed their connection with it. Did they? They had no doubt been carefully selected after inquiry by the solicitors who instructed Mr. Wallace, and might be taken to be the best witnesses that could be obtained from the point of view of the Union as defendants. The very first witness, Lady Sybil Smith, drew a distinction between the destruction of Government and private property; she said that she herself would not break windows, but that other people might be justified in doing so. Mrs. Hippesley continued to be a member six months after she knew that these outrages had taken place. When Mrs. Aldridge was called, it soon became evident that she did not disapprove of the burning of Mr. Harcourt's house and the burning of the theatre at Dublin, one of the most wicked things ever done. The defendants themselves had furnished the plaintiffs with the best illustration of the innocence of the members of the Union. The result of this action might prove to be the most effective method of stopping this disastrous campaign of these mistaken women, for people would realise that it was unsafe from a financial point of view to have anything to do with the Union. Destroy its funds, and they destroyed its efficiency for evil. The rent of the halls in which these meetings were held and these outrages were advocated was paid by the Union, and in some cases the halls were taken in its name.

Part Played by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

He then read various extracts from the report of the union of 1913, and also extracts from reports of speeches and articles in VOTES FOR WOMEN. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had carefully abstained from going into the witness-box; they had exercised a wise discretion, for they would have been liable to cross-examination, and would have been obliged to admit facts which would have been highly inconvenient. They were joint editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and all the articles in that paper advocating and recounting these outrages were passed by them and authorised by them to be printed, and the printing was paid for by Mr. Lawrence. He submitted that the evidence against them was conclusive.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S SPEECH

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in rising to address the jury, said that he wished to associate himself with what both the learned counsel had said as to the importance of the case. He would speak for himself alone, and what he said would only commit himself. He would submit to his lordship that where it was not proved that windows were broken by a member of the Women's Social and Political Union—and there were a number of such cases—there was no case at all against him. Then he wished to say a word about what had been called "militancy" and "militant tactics." These terms had been used in reference to very different methods employed by the union, such as asking a question at a Cabinet Minister's meeting, political policy at a by-election, uncomfortably but not illegally harassing a Minister, and the going into Parliament Square by members of the union as a deputation to the House of Commons, where such members were subsequently arrested for obstructing the police. The jury would realise that the term "militancy" was not necessarily to be read as meaning the doing of such actions as the smashing of windows. The demonstration in November, 1911, was of this character—that of the earlier militancy. The matter was important as bearing on the meaning of the circular that had been read to them with reference to that demonstration. The deputation was one where those taking part in it were urged to take nothing in their hands, such as umbrellas, which could possibly be construed as a weapon of offence. The women who had taken part in that demonstration had complained of the violence they said they had received. And they wanted an inquiry into the facts. One of the women who took part in it had been killed, although that fact was not in evidence. That inquiry was not allowed.

The Political Aspect

The Government had offered facilities for the Conciliation Bill. This matter had already been exceedingly well put by his lordship to the jury. Women were asking for a Government measure, if the Conciliation Bill was swept away. They were not satisfied with the Government's proposal. A Bill was introduced for giving votes to more men, and the chance of women obtaining the vote was to depend upon a mere amendment moved by a private member. Mr. Tindal Atkinson had suggested that the complaint was that it was *infra dig.* for women to obtain votes in that way. That was not the complaint, as had already been pointed out by his lordship. The complaint was that the whole thing was a sham, and the events of last January had verified the forecast which the women had made.

The seventh annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union had been put in and read to the jury. That had enabled counsel to deal with facts that were quite immaterial to this case—matters which had occurred long after March 1, 1912, such as injury to private property—after that date. This was of especial importance to his wife and himself, as they had left the W.S.P.U. in October, 1912, and they were no longer members when the report was published. He was not committed to any statement that was made in that report, and in fact he was not responsible in any way for anything that happened after March 5, 1912, when he was arrested and taken to prison. Nothing that happened after March 1, 1912, had any bearing in this case against any of the defendants.

The Justification of Force

Passing from these preliminary matters, Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that the jury had heard the various views put forward as to the rightness or wrongness of the use of physical force or violence. He would put forward his own view. It was that the answer to the question depended on the necessity. He did not want to say that the end necessarily justified the means. There were certain means of themselves morally wrong, there were others which, though repugnant, were justifiable if necessary. The jury would remember that the law recognised self-help in many cases, as for instance in the case where one found a burglar by night in one's house. There were cases where a person was justified in breaking a window, as for instance where it was necessary to put out a fire or to save human life, or even perhaps to save the life of some one of the minor animals. The law did not justify the breaking of a window for political purposes. But he submitted that force or even violence might be justifiable for a cause which was worthy if it were absolutely necessary.

Mr. Justice Darling: Who is to be the judge of the necessity?

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said he was dealing with the moral question and the moral law. The person who did the act had to decide whether it was absolutely necessary. Then, of course, the law of the land had to decide whether the act done was legal.

The women considered it necessary that they should get the vote for their protection, and on that ground they justified their acts. Secondly, they considered that they had been betrayed by the politicians of the day. Thirdly, their agitation in March, 1912, took the form it did owing to the treatment they said they had received when they went into Parliament Square the preceding November. So much with regard to the position of the women.

His Own Position

With regard to his own position, he did not think that in any of his speeches there was any incitement to violence.

Mr. Justice Darling said that he thought Mr. Pethick Lawrence should deal with the message he had delivered to a meeting from his wife when in Holloway Gaol—the words "Be ready."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence said that his wife had been sent to prison for taking part in the demonstration in Parliament Square in November, 1911. All previous demonstrations had taken that form, and the message delivered was quite consonant with a plan for a further demonstration of the same character. He thought that he was entitled to say that he had never incited to violence. He had written a good deal on the subject of woman suffrage, but he was satisfied that he had never incited to violence. As a man he did not consider it his part to incite women to violence. His part—and he was not ashamed of it—had been to edit this paper in which were printed these speeches, articles, and appeals for volunteers. There was no secret about it; he had placed his paper at the disposal of the Women's Social and Political Union.

To Avoid a Sex War

"I have never disguised the fact," continued Mr. Lawrence emphatically, "and in so doing I took the line that I take to-day—I say that I stood by the women who were in revolt. I am not in the least regretting what I did on that occasion; I am not ashamed of it. I think I did the right thing, and I did that because I thought women were fighting for something very great, and I did it for another reason too. I did it for this reason—because I think there is a danger far greater even than the danger which the learned counsel has sketched out to you, I think that the danger which is greater than any of those he has mentioned to you is the danger that there may come in this country a sex war. I look upon any such thing as a sex war in which women are on one side and men are on the other side as a very serious, a very ugly, and a very menacing thing, and I think, therefore, it is of the greatest importance that some men, at any rate, should be identifying themselves with the movement for the enfranchisement of women in order that that very great and serious danger may be averted.

Standing by Revolt

"As I said in the beginning, my wife and I are, at the present time, dissociated from the particular organisation of this Women's Social and Political Union. We have not ceased to work for Woman Suffrage, and I have not changed my views—my wife will speak for herself—with regard to anything that happened in March last year. I still say I was quite right in standing by the women in consequence of the suffering they suffered on "Black Friday," and I am prepared to stand by the fact. It seems to me, human freedom or human liberty, whether it be of women or men, is so important that those of us who have got something to lose must stand by it if it is a struggling cause. If the action occurs again, either by women or by men, if there is some step which in their judgment they consider absolutely necessary for the furtherance of that cause, and I consider they have good ground for holding necessary, I shall not hesitate to stand by them for that cause."

The Trades Union Parallel

Continuing, Mr. Lawrence said they might say that his actions must be paid for. Yes; and he had paid a good price; he had been to prison and he had submitted himself to forcible feeding. The question was whether he was to be saddled with the whole of the damage that was caused in this way. An attempt of a similar kind to saddle the funds of trade unions was considered so unfair that an Act of Parliament was passed specially to meet the case. The jury would remember that when Dr. Jameson committed an act causing very great loss, though he was convicted and punished for what he had done, no attempt was made to saddle him with the expense and loss incurred. They had heard of threats made from an adjoining island; suppose that events happened there in which some prominent statesman was involved; perhaps criminal proceedings would be taken against him, but would an attempt be made to saddle him with the expense of what occurred? If it were proved that one or two of the prominent journals of this country had backed up this revolt very much as he had himself backed up the revolt of the women, would the editors and proprietors of those journals be saddled with the expense? No! Because public opinion would not tolerate it in their case; yet that was what was being attempted in this case. It was right when men conspired to commit burglary, that the man who stayed at home and had planned the deed should be liable. But when they came to the case of a great, spontaneous political uprising conducted by a body of people, he thought it was an outrage to fasten on one person the whole of the damage caused by a number of persons. He held that the damage ought to be recovered from the Government, just in the same way as it was in other places where riot occurred. This was only just because it was misgovernment which was responsible for the whole business.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S SPEECH

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then addressed the jury, saying that the case had been put before them by experts in the intricacies of the law, and she was conscious that she was no lawyer; but she took courage from the fact that they, too, were laymen. With regard to conspiracy, the popular idea of a conspirator was that of a person working in the dark with the intention of benefiting himself and injuring others. In that sense they were certainly not conspirators. The words uttered by them relied on by the plaintiffs were uttered in public meetings and reported in

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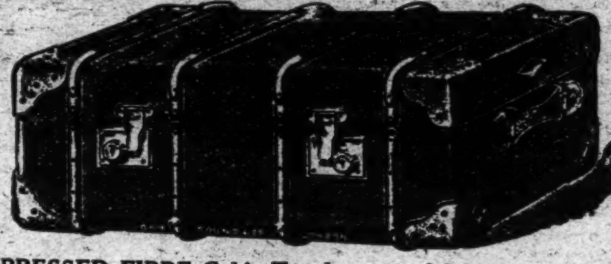

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their newspaper. She had had no other object than a political one—namely, the rousing of public opinion as to the wrongs inflicted on the disfranchised section of the community.

The Failure of the Government

She wanted them to realise that the women who went out to break these windows went to prison for it, lost their friends, were boycotted socially, and lost their health, were actuated by a sense, not of their own grievances but of those of others. Their action was directly due to the failure of the Government to recognise the most elementary principle of constitutional liberty. One of the hardest things in the world was to put oneself in the position of another, and it was peculiarly difficult for a man to put himself in the position of a woman. But she wanted them to do so, and to suppose that all the laws were made by women. Let them suppose that they had transgressed those laws, and had to appear before a bench of women to be judged by them and punished by them. In such a case, would not they, or if not they, some men, have felt this to be intolerable, and would they not be moved to make demonstrations of protest, and if their minor protests were disregarded, to go on making stronger protests until they had convinced women that it was impossible to govern men without their consent? It was an old principle of the Constitution, dating almost from Magna Carta, that those who contributed to the upkeep of the State should have a voice in the spending of the money contributed. Wars had been fought for that principle, and property and life destroyed, and a King had lost his head. Thousands of pounds of tea were lost in Boston Harbour, and we lost the American colonies for a violation of this principle. Within the memory of them all a war had been waged to obtain equal rights for all whites. To obtain this same result—namely, equal rights for all whites—the women's war had been waged, at an infinitely less loss of life and property.

"No Constitutional Way"

The Divorce Commission had put their hands on a glaring wrong—namely, that the conditions under which men and women could obtain divorce were different. The Government gave no indication of remedying this wrong, and women had no constitutional way of doing so. Women had to pay the salaries of members of Parliament who did not represent them. Women had peculiar grievances against the Insurance Act; the permanent invalidity and premature old-age pension was payable to men, but not to women. Women were often told that woman's privilege and duty was the nurture and bringing-up of children; they accepted that, and it was also on behalf of young children that this agitation was conducted, for out of every 1,000 children 110 died in the first year after their birth. There was talk of a Government measure dealing with the mortality among bees, but of none to remedy this state of things. The holes in those broken windows were mouths calling attention to the wrongs of hundreds of thousands of wives and mothers. The change of policy of the union dated from the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hobhouse. The latter, at Bristol, ridiculed their great processions, and said that there was no such evidence of a popular feeling in favour of this movement such as was shown by the breaking down of Hyde Park railings, and the destruction of Nottingham Castle.

"Bristol, as you know," continued Mrs. Lawrence, "is a place connected with the franchise riots of 1831, a place where, in six hours, men did damage to property to the value of £100,000 sterling a few months before they got the vote in 1832. Mr. Hobhouse took this occasion to refer to the franchise agitation; he referred to our great processions, our great demonstrations; he swept them all aside. He said, 'In the case of the suffrage demand there had not been the kind of popular, sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832, or the Hyde Park railings in 1867. There had been no great ebullition of popular feeling.'" She wanted them to understand that Nottingham Castle was burned to the ground by men who were demanding the franchise, who used violence and arson in order to demonstrate their feelings; and asked whether Mr. Hobhouse's reference to it was not a proof that constitutional demonstration had no effect upon the Government, and that only militancy would influence them.

In conclusion, she asked them to say on the evidence that the window-breakers did not act as her agents. When a tide was dammed back, it overflowed. Men did not argue with the flood or put responsibility on it, but put it on those who dammed back the stream.

"On the Broad Human Principles"

In conclusion Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said:—

"This suit for damages, unprecedented in the history of political agitation, is only another case of repression; it is aimed at the movement itself. You are urged to bring in a severe verdict as a help to crush the movement; but I ask you to judge this matter on the broad human principles of justness, equity, and fairness. I appeal to you for understanding of the very wide issues this trial has raised. I want you to see behind these broken windows broken lives, as we women do. I want you to regard the grievances, the compassions, the provocations, and the repressions which have called forth this political protest, and I want you to take these things into account, gentlemen, when you are deciding your verdict."

THE JUDGE'S SUMMING UP

Mr. Justice Darling, in summing up the case to the jury, having enunciated the defendants, said that he should leave it to the jury whether the members of the Women's Social and Political Union whom Mrs. Tuke represented by order of the Court had conspired to break these windows as well as the other defendants. Counsel on both sides had cited authorities to him. If he was wrong on the point, he could easily be put right in the Court of Appeal. Mr. Wallace was quite right when he told the jury it was not enough for the plaintiffs to prove a mere conspiracy. It was what the older lawyers would have called an action on the case. The plaintiffs must show a conspiracy to commit damage and actual damage committed.

A Most Eloquent Speech

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in a most eloquent speech—really one of the most eloquent he had ever heard in that Court—had put forward her defence. A number of people had broken these windows. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had not suggested that these people were not liable. But that was no answer to the plaintiffs, because in all probability those persons were not worth a penny. If persons conspired and incited other people to do wrong actions, and they did them, the former persons became liable to those who suffered damage. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said that the persons who broke these windows were incited, not by the defendants, but by Mr. Lloyd George and by Mr. Hobhouse. He (the learned Judge) did not affect to say whether what was done was in pursuance of what these gentlemen had said. He did not wonder that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had read this passage from Mr. Hobhouse's speech.

It was a most unfortunate thing to tell these people that what was required to convince men of the good faith and correctness of the people was that there should be riots like the throwing down of Hyde Park railings and riots like the burning of Nottingham Castle; especially if the women were then engaged in a solely constitutional agitation. "And mind you, gentlemen," continued the learned judge, "this is a constitutional agitation, and far be it from me to say that women are not just as fit for the vote as those who possess it." That opinion was held by persons high in political life of very different political opinions. As the passage had been read, he thought he was bound to say on behalf of Mrs. Lawrence that it was not unnatural that she should use the argument that the people who had incited the women to violence were Mr. Lloyd George and above all Mr. Hobhouse. But the fallacy was that, even if they had, it did not follow that the defendants had not incited them also. If they were all in the dock together and one said where I used whips you used scorpions, it was true that he should be inclined to pass a heavier sentence on those who used scorpions. But that was not the position here, and in any case the other people were not being sued. Perhaps if there were many more speeches of this kind used those that made them would be sued by persons who had suffered damage. And if two of such speeches were made on the same afternoon the speakers might well find themselves indicted for conspiracy.

Libro D'oro

It was not denied that these windows were broken. The particulars were to be found in this book that had been put in, which Mr. Tindal Atkinson had described as a register of crime, but in which the defendants gloried, and to which he would therefore give a neutral title "Libro D'oro" (a roll of honour). The breaking of the windows was not denied, and the amount of the damage was not denied, except that Mr. Pethick Lawrence had taken the point that where one of the windows was not shown to have been broken by a member of the union, although broken on the same occasion and at the same time, the defendants could not be liable to pay for that window. All bad actions were contagious, and a street boy seeing a lady breaking a window might well do the same. But he was bound to point out to the jury that there was no evidence of any persons breaking the windows other than members of the union. The plaintiffs could not be expected to have assistants with their eyes fastened on every one of their windows.

The question for the jury was—Did the defendants conspire to incite other persons to break these windows? To answer that question the jury must look at the articles and speeches printed in this paper VOTES FOR WOMEN. They could not disregard what Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had said to them, that the union had been engaged in a great constitutional agitation. Not only did they get up great constitutional meetings, but they broke all the records. If they had only stopped there! But then they broke the windows. And why? In her own words, that "the holes in the windows might become mouths." That might be the object with which the windows were broken; but that fact did not prove it was right to break them. No one could help sympathising with a great deal of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech. But he could not possibly direct the jury that the ends pursued by her were so good that they justified the means employed. He could not say that if a window were broken with the object of getting a rise in wages it was unlawful, but if it were broken with the object of getting votes for those who were without them it was lawful. If the defendants conspired to induce others to break these windows and the windows were broken, it did not matter whether the defendants had a good end in view or a bad one; they were liable to the plaintiffs for the damage done.

The Individual Conscience

Lady Sybil Smith and other ladies had given evidence. She said that she joined the union in 1909 and had resigned early that year for reasons of her own. She had said that she did not herself think it right to attack private property, but she thought it was a matter for the individual conscience. And in answer to a question from him she had said that she thought there were as many moral codes as there were individuals. Well, if that were going to be acted upon, what was the good of giving women votes at all, or, indeed, of making laws? There would be no judges or juries in this Utopia, and no one would be imprisoned, then. She said that she herself disapproved of acts of violence, but she had attended meetings where there was talk of stone-throwing. That was Mr. Tindal Atkinson's case against the members of the union; they attended meetings where these things were said, they subscribed to their funds, and they bought the paper of the union, and so all were liable. It was plain that when the Women's Social and Political Union was first established it conducted a perfectly legitimate and constitutional agitation; it was as legitimate an association as the Anti-Corn Law League. But there came a time when it gave the go-by to its constitutional methods. Mr. Hobhouse had not said: "Go and break windows." Apparently he had said that they should commit some acts of violence. So did the English King who had said: "Who will rid me of this turbulent priest," and a nobleman who heard him went away and murdered Thomas à Becket. But it could not be said that nobody but the King was guilty of what occurred. He ought also to say that Mr. Hobhouse's speech was delivered after a number of the inducements relied on by the plaintiffs had been printed in VOTES FOR WOMEN. That appeared from the date when his speech was printed in that paper garnished with a picture of Nottingham Castle in flames.

What had the methods of this union degenerated into? Had not the Women's Social and Political Union degenerated into an association pursuing illegal methods? They would find in Rabelais, when the monk was offered an abbey, he had answered: "How can I govern an abbey who cannot govern myself?" How could those govern England who could not govern themselves?"

Here Mr. Justice Darling read a passage from Rabelais, and commented on it to the jury. Resuming, he said—

No Opinion on Woman Suffrage

He need not tell the jury that if they returned a verdict for the plaintiffs it would in no way hinder, far less stop, the legal agitation of the Women's Social and Political Union. It might well be that it would help the union. For it might well be that if they pursued their present course, those who governed might become more stubborn. Men were still the stronger sex, and certainly the more brutal, and it might be that women would advance their ends further by methods in which they were the more adept. If the jury thought that the defendants had conspired by means of incitements and the collection of money and other means to get others to go and break these windows, then they would return a verdict for the plaintiffs. The total amount of the damages claimed was £364 13s. 9d. He hoped that he had expressed no opinion, and certainly no hostile opinion, to woman suffrage. He desired to express no opinion upon the matter. He ought to add that Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had left the union before the issue of this seventh annual report. It might be that they had advanced arguments as advocates for conduct of which they disapproved, and from which they desired to dissociate themselves.

THE VERDICT

The jury retired at 3.15 p.m., and returned into Court at 4 p.m., when they returned a verdict for the plaintiffs for the amounts claimed by them against all the defendants. Accordingly judgment was entered for the plaintiffs in the five actions, with costs.

On the application of Mr. Wallace execution was stayed against Mrs. Tuke as representing the members of the Women's Social and Political Union pending an appeal to the Court of Appeal, if notice were entered within three weeks.

In answer to Mr. Wallace, Mr. Justice Darling said that members of the Union who had joined it after March 1, 1912, were not liable.

Solicitors: Messrs. Amery Parkes and Co.; Messrs. Hatchett-Jones, Bisgood, and Marshall; Messrs. Ranger, Burton, and Frost.

LABOUR OPINIONS

At a largely attended meeting of the Perth Labour Representation Council last week, a resolution was carried unanimously, "Protesting against the law passed in 1908 by which an innocent man cannot recover his costs from the authorities, while a man found guilty can be ordered to pay the cost of the prosecution as well as his own; and demanding the immediate repeal or amendment of this law."

Similar resolutions have been passed by the Tyne Dock branch of the N. U. of Railwaymen, the Hull and District Labour Party, the York Labour Party, and the Warrington Trade and Labour Council.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE SIDE ISSUE

This may be said to be a side-issue; but, as is pointed out in VOTES FOR WOMEN, the Suffrage agitation, being a fight for the essentials of freedom, has a way of bringing into the open various grievances and oppressions in the course of its progress. Thus the fight for the liberty of speech and of printing, now going on in England, have arisen as side-issues out of the Suffragist agitation; and Mr. Lawrence's fight for liberty of the subject takes rank beside them.—**Irish Citizen.**

THE UNPOPULAR REFORMER

All ought to try to realise what the tactics against Mr. Lawrence mean. If they succeed any movement the Government may dislike, or any person the Government of the day may disapprove of, may be expected to fare similarly.—**Daily Herald.**

THE JURY-WOMAN

What better illustration could there be of sex dominance than the fact that women must always be prosecuted and defended by men before a male judge and a jury of men?—**Labour Leader.**

THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE AGAINST THE W.S.P.U.

Before Mr. Justice Phillimore, at the Old Bailey last Monday, the trial was opened of the seven defendants for alleged offences in connection with the militant Suffragist movement conducted by the W.S.P.U. Their names are:

Harriet Roberta Kerr, manageress;
Alice Lake, manageress;
Rachel Barrett, assistant editor;
Laura Geraldine Lennox, sub-editor;
Beatrice Helen Sanders, financial sec.;
Annie Kenney, organiser;
Edwy Godwin Clayton, chemist.

The counts in the indictment against them are:

1. Conspiring together, and with other persons, to inflict damage, injury, and spoil on houses, goods, and chattels belonging to divers subjects of the King.
2. Consipiring together to incite other persons, members of the Women's Social and Political Union and others, unlawfully to commit damage to plate-glass windows.
3. Conspiring together unlawfully to place in Post Office-boxes certain noxious and deleterious fluids.
4. Soliciting and inciting certain women to commit the last-mentioned offence.
5. Unlawfully conspiring together to give false alarms of fire to the London Fire Brigade.

All the defendants pleaded not guilty.

Counsel engaged in the case were: For the prosecution, the Solicitor-General (Sir J. A. Simon, K.C.), Mr. A. H. Bodkin, Mr. Travers Humphreys, and Mr. G. A. H. Branson; for the defence, Mr. R. D. Muir, and Mr. Adrian Clark for Mrs. Sanders; Mr. Theobald Mathew and Mr. R. Primrose for Miss Kerr; Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., for Miss Lake, Miss Barrett, and Miss Lennox; Mr. Cecil Walsh for Mr. E. G. Clayton. Miss Kenney defended herself.

THE CASE FOR THE CROWN

Sir John Simon's Opening Speech

In opening the case for the prosecution, the Solicitor-General informed the jury that in the formal indictment the defendants were charged with conspiring with Mrs. Pankhurst, with Mrs. Drummond, and with forty-seven other persons whose names were known, because they were recorded by the association of which the defendants were important members as having committed crimes.

The question very often in these cases was not the end at which these people were aiming, but what were the methods by which they were trying to carry out the object. It would be affectation to pretend that every one in the court did not know that the declared object of the association to which the defendants belonged was to extend the franchise to women. People were perfectly at liberty to combine in order to promote or oppose that object, and the only rule that the law laid down was that the methods followed must be lawful.

The Defendants

The six women defendants belonged to the Women's Social and Political Union. Dealing with the history of the Women's Social and Political Union, counsel said Miss Christabel Pankhurst was the organising secretary, and she was a fugitive from justice. She thought it right to leave London, and, though many of those with whom she had been associated and whom she had instigated to commit crimes had been punished, Miss Christabel Pankhurst was comfortably in Paris. The prosecution would show that each of the women defendants was constantly taking part in the work of the union. Miss Kerr, who was manager, was a salaried official, but had not been acting the part of a mere official who knew nothing of the policy and methods pursued. She herself had justified a charge of a most obviously criminal character, even when challenged by one of the very victims.

Miss Lake had been concerned with publishing the newspaper, the *Suffragette*, Miss Barrett was the chief sub-editor of the paper; Miss Lennox was also in the editorial department and took an interest in such things as breaking windows.

The Union's Funds

Mrs. Sanders was the financial chief, and he should like to give the jury some figures in order to show them the extent of the organisation. He found a balance-sheet in the last annual report, from which it appeared that the year commenced with a credit balance of £7,207. There followed the following items of income:

	£
Subscriptions	23,155
Sale of meeting tickets	2,578
Collections	2,423

With other receipts the total reached £35,710. How had the money been expended? He found the following details:

	£
Rent, lighting, &c.	2,662
Salaries—staff and organisers...	6,321
Printing and stationery	6,321
Travelling	2,045
Postages and telegrams	1,500
General office expenses	1,400
Hire of halls	2,816
Legal expenses	894
Prisoners' hospitality charges...	295

There was also a debit item of £3,056, which represented a year's loss on the newspaper.

Miss Kenney held the important post of general organiser, and more obvious incitements to break the law than she had put forward it was difficult to imagine. Clayton was an analytical chemist, and when the police took action and arrested the other defendants they came across documents which, for the first time, provided them with Clayton's name, and showed the most astonishing degree of recklessness on his part, for he appeared to have been suggesting and planning outrages far more serious than the mere minor outrages with which the movement began.

Change of Policy

In October of last year to some extent the Union changed from what it had been and became even more violent. On Friday, October 18, 1912, there appeared the first copy of the *Suffragette*. In that issue there were two important announcements. One was that Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence found themselves unable to approve the new militant policy, and left the Union rather than cause schism in its ranks. The second was that the militancy sanctioned by the Union consisted in defiance of legal enactments and in attacks upon property. In the *Suffragette* was a gleeful record of what had been done.

January of the present year was an important period as showing how completely the heads of the organisation controlled what was going on among the rank and file. The Franchise Bill was before the House of Commons, and it was suggested that amendments might be put into it to give votes to women. On January 13 there was a meeting at which Mrs. Pankhurst declared a truce. And the extraordinary thing was that although there were outbreaks of violence on property from October to January 13, from the latter date until January 27, when she announced that militancy would be resumed, there was not a single recorded case of an attack on property in the supposed interests of women's suffrage.

The importance of that was that it showed whether the heads of this movement could control it. If they could turn the tap off whenever they liked, they were the people who were responsible for turning it on.

Records at Headquarters

Here followed a recital of what the police had found when they raided Lincoln's Inn House. After describing the book which recorded the names and militant deeds of those who had suffered imprisonment, and the badges and certificates presented to them by the Union, counsel further stated that the receipt book showed that money was spent in defending these persons and in paying their expenses "if they went off to commit these extravagant acts." Apart from the particular cases, the whole scheme of outbreak had not only been instigated and organised and paid for and encouraged by the headquarters in Kingsway, but also recorded at headquarters.

When the police went to Miss Kenney's flat at 19, Mecklenburgh Square they found, in a book which dealt with the Bristol riots, the following letter:

"Dear Miss Kenney,—I am sorry to say that it will be several days yet before I can be ready with that which you wanted. I have devoted all this evening and part of yesterday evening to the business without success. Evidently a difficult matter, but not impossible, I verily believe, because, galling as it is to have to write it, I nearly succeeded once last night, and then spoilt what I did in trying to improve upon it. By next week I shall be able to manage. The exact proportions are very important to hit, evidently. I will let you have results as soon as I think them good enough. Please burn this. With best wishes, and earnestly hoping you are much better, I am, yours very sincerely,

"Edwy G. Clayton.

"P.S.—I am awfully disappointed at having to keep you waiting longer than I anticipated."

"Various Suggestions"

Another document in Mr. Clayton's writing was headed "Various Suggestions," and read:

"(1) Scheme of simultaneously smashing a considerable number of street fire-alarms. This appears to me to be an especially good idea. It will cause tremendous confusion and excitement, and should be at once easier and less risky to execute than some other operations. From six to eight operators might be told off, each to a district for which she is responsible, say, Mayfair, Westminster, the City, St. Pancras or Bloomsbury, Islington, Southwark or Bermondsey, Camden Town, &c. A day or so before she should visit her district and note places and distances, and on the night, armed with a muffled stone or hammer, she could walk rapidly from one to another, smash the glass, pull the handle with well-gloved hand, and so on, of course at each alarm selecting a moment when no one was about. All should start operations at one and previously fixed hour. In one journey, which I think I mentioned, I noted down the following places where there are street fire-alarms. (Particulars followed.)

"(2) Certain smaller Government offices to which entrance might be effected, or where something might be done. (A list followed.)"

Particulars as to timber yards and cotton mills also followed, as well as a plan for burning down the National Health Insurance Office.

That did not seem so easy, because, he said, there were "two huge porters, who seem constantly on guard, one in charge of each door, besides the inquiry clerk." He explained that he had done his best to get into the upper part of the building, but had not yet been able to frame a question under the Act which could not be answered by the clerk at the door. (Laughter.)

When arrested Clayton said:

"I think it is a rather high-handed action. I am an extreme sympathiser with the Suffragist cause. What evidence have you against me?"

Each Defendant Involved

There was evidence in the documents which directly associated each one of them with the charges made. It would be shown that Miss Kerr was in constant receipt of letters from Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who usually called her "Patricia." Apparently that was the name by which she passed. The letters were found at her place of residence and in her desk. One of them ended:

"I think of you a great deal and what may transpire at L.I.H. over and above the other pounces they have made. Underground work seems to have alarmed them, and that is greatly to the good."

Miss Lake arranged for the printing of the *Suffragette*. Miss Barrett made up the paper. In regard to Miss Lennox, a card was found, on the back of which was "Right side from Piccadilly Circus, Regent Street, near Glasshouse Street: No. 124, Wright (Ltd.), jewellers; 130, Carrington and Co., jewellers." Then there was the affecting note: "Not Jaeger, if you can avoid it." That seemed to be one of the soft spots in Miss Lennox's heart. (Laughter.)

Constant Encouragement of Violence

Mrs. Sanders's department involved the constant encouragement of violence. In December she wrote a letter to Clayton. That was just at the time the explosives and chemicals were being so freely used in connection with the pillar-boxes. The jury had to ask themselves what was the "splendid work" the Holborn Viaduct chemist had been doing, and for which the financial secretary of the union sent a £5 note. He was paid on four occasions, coming to about £20 in all. As to Miss Kenney, her speeches, after Mrs. Pankhurst's, were certainly the most violent.

EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Evidence for the prosecution was then called.

Herbert Barr, a traveller in the employ of Speaight and Sons, printers, Fetter Lane, proved negotiations with Mrs. Pankhurst for the printing of the *Suffragette*. He pointed out that there was a certain amount of risk, and she said her daughter, the editor, was a specialist in constitutional law, and would see that nothing offensive appeared. Witness spoke of interviews with several of the defendants with regard to the paper.

Evidence was given as to the "blacking out" by the firm of some passages in the paper.

Mr. Arthur Cornelius Rollo, of Messrs. Love and Malcomson, printers, of Holborn, stated that his firm was printing the issue of the *Suffragette* for May 2 when the police came and removed type and proofs.

Miss Annie Kenney (cross-examining): When the police came to your office did they select what was supposed to be inciting matter, or take all the galleys without reading them through?—They took all away.

Do you remember a poem called "The Last Straw: A Liberal's Lament over Militancy"?—No, I cannot say I do.

Mr. John Isaac Jarman, publisher's manager, in reply to Mr. Travers Humphreys, said that after a conversation with Mrs. Pankhurst in October he supervised the publication of the *Suffragette*, and went to Lincoln's Inn House.

Cross-examined by Mr. McCurdy: Miss Lennox was sub-editor, and submitted articles that came in to Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Barrett took more responsibility On one occasion she said, "If the circulation drops to one copy it must go on."

What had you said to her to draw that remark?—I was annoyed that the circulation was falling, and commented on some of the articles that had appeared.

You practically built up the organisation for the Women's Union on which this paper is founded?—Yes, from the middle of January.

Can you suggest any reason why you should be giving evidence in the witness-box, and Miss Lake, who succeeded you, should be in the dock?—I can suggest none.

The hearing was adjourned till Tuesday, bail being allowed.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10

On Tuesday the proceedings were resumed and more evidence was given for the prosecution. Inspector Fowler deposed to finding the documents said to be in Mr. Clayton's handwriting, mentioned in the opening speech for the prosecution. Mrs. Strange, co-proprietor of the refreshment pavilion at Kew Gardens, repeated her former evidence with regard to a conversation with Miss Kerr at Lincoln's Inn House, in which Miss Kerr said: "We find that the only way to rouse the Government is by attacking private property."

Police officers who had taken shorthand notes of reports of speeches delivered at various meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union produced transcripts of their notes, which were read by Mr. Bodkin.

Miss Kenney, cross-examining one of the officers, read an extract from a speech, and asked, Would you say that was inciting?

The witness: In my humble judgment I should say yes.

Miss Kenney: That was said by Lord Willoughby de Broke.

Mr. Justice Phillimore: The fact that someone else said what might be inciting does not excuse you.

A number of postmen spoke to finding chemicals in pillar-boxes in different parts of London.

Miss Kenney inquired of one of the postmen, whose hand was burned by the chemicals, whether he took advantage of the Insurance Act.

The witness: No, we have a doctor of our own.

A witness who spoke to seeing shavings and other things in a studio was asked by Miss Kenney, in cross-examination, Do you know that afterwards they called this a "Suffragette arsenal"?

The witness: I heard that.

Miss Kenney: Do you know that an arsenal means a place where they keep arms?—Yes.

Did you ever find any rifles there labelled "machinery"?—No, not that I am aware of. (Laughter.)

The hearing was adjourned, the defendants being again admitted to bail.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11

Further evidence was given for the prosecution when the hearing was resumed on Wednesday.

The first witness called was Mrs. Mary Ann Martin, who stated that Mrs. Sanders was her daughter.

Cross-examined by Mr. Muir, witness said her daughter had had no business training before her marriage, but helped her father in his tobacconist's business.

Mr. Muir: What is your daughter's husband?—A Fabian lecturer.

The Judge: That is how he gets his money, is it?—Yes.

Mr. Muir: And your daughter works in order to keep the home?—That is so.

The Annual Report

Copies of the seventh annual report of the W.S.P.U. were handed to the jury, and extracts from it were read by the Solicitor-General. One of these referred to the great development of the movement, and to the fact that militancy had ceased to be symbolical, and was now directed against property. A heading was "Important Events of the Year," and the "great window-breaking campaign of 1912" was mentioned. There was a record of convictions against members of the body for various offences.

Evidence was next called to prove the printing, to the order of the W.S.P.U., of two pamphlets, one entitled "Broken Windows" and the other "Burnt Letters," both written by Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

The Woman's Press

An accountant was called with reference to the auditing of the accounts of the W.S.P.U. and the Women's Press from March, 1912, to April, 1913. The accounts of the Women's Press showed a loss in trading, he said, which was made good by the W.S.P.U. In the salary list the names of the female defendants appeared. One item was £175 paid to "C. H. P." (Miss Christabel Pankhurst) for four months' salary and expenses. Other payments included those for the Canadian tour and the Prisoners' Hospitality Fund.

What is "Standard Literature"?

Mr. McCurdy asked witness if the Women's Press did not publish "standard literature."

The Judge: What do you call "standard literature"? Not these tracts and pamphlets, surely!

Further evidence having been given as to correspondence passing between Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Kerr, Miss Lake, and Miss Barrett, the hearing was adjourned until Thursday, bail being allowed to the defendants.

MILITANT PROTEST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

As we went to press on Wednesday we learned that while the Prime Minister was speaking in the House of Commons a young man in the gallery rose and threw a bag of flour, which narrowly missed Mr. Asquith, and burst near the Speaker's chair, covering the surrounding seats with flour. He also threw a bundle of handbills and other literature, and was heard to shout something as he did so, in which the only distinguishable words were "Miss Davison." The man, whose name is given as Laurence Marvin, was taken into custody by the House of Commons police.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President, Mrs. Cecil Chapman,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

It will be noticed that a change has been made in the arrangements for the weekly At Homes. The new premises will be opened on June 24, and on June 17 Mr. Hugh Gillespie will speak on "Suffragists and the Sword of the Law." Many will be anxious to hear a criticism of the methods adopted by the Government towards the Suffragists from a gentleman who has closely followed each step in the recent struggle.

As can be seen in the advertisement columns, a most attractive programme has been arranged for the garden entertainment at Hampstead on June 25. Lovers of old world music and of dancing could have no better opportunity for enjoyment than that afforded by an entertainment given by our well-known artists in the beautiful setting of Byron Cottage garden. The tea provided is going to be the best of its kind. All that is necessary to success is that our friends should make the entertainment widely known and sell tickets. Miss Simeon is anxious to hear at the head office of volunteers who can assist by distributing bills in Hampstead. She also needs help for poster parades, which are to start in Hampstead at 11.15 a.m. on the 21st, 23rd, and the 24th.

Meanwhile, active propaganda campaigns are being carried on in London and the country. Miss McGowan is very busy in Putney and Whitechapel, while Miss Frye and Mrs. Merivale Mayer are holding a series of meetings in mid-Norfolk.

Coming Events

Friday, June 13.—8 p.m. Fulbourne Road, Whitechapel. Speakers, Miss McGowan, Mrs. Douglas Knocker.

Sunday, June 15.—Noon. Hyde Park.

Monday, June 16.—6 p.m. Drawing-room Meeting, by kind permission of Mrs. Fleming Baxter. Speakers, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Alexandra Wright.

Tuesday, June 17.—3 p.m. Office At Home. Hostess, Mrs. Tite. Speaker, Mr. H. J. Gillespie, "Suffragists and the Sword of the Law."

Thursday, June 19.—Suffrage Club, 3, York Street. Speakers, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

Tuesday, June 24.—3 p.m. Opening of new premises, 143, Knightsbridge. Speakers, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

◆

COMING EVENTS

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Speakers: Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Stanbury, Fru. Anker, and Dr. Florence Willey.

The Women's Freedom League announce a public meeting at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 18, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Abrams and J. Cameron Grant, Esq.

◆

A GREAT PROTEST

A stirring protest against the encroachments of the Executive was made last Saturday afternoon at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, when, at the invitation of the Free Speech Defence Committee, nearly 200 delegates from various societies met to discuss the recent attempts of the Government to suppress Free Speech, Free Meetings, and a Free Press.

In the absence of Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., took the chair; the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That, in view of the grave menace to the right of free speech, free Press, and free assembly (without which no individual nor association can feel secure) caused by recent actions of the Government, this conference calls upon the organised workers and all other supporters of constitutional liberties to protest emphatically against the reactionary policy of forbidding public meetings, suppressing journals before publication, and sentencing persons either to be bound over or to prison who have not been convicted of any crime. It further calls upon the Government

> "(a) To cancel immediately the order prohibiting public meetings convened to advocate the extension of the franchise to women.
>
> "(b) To abandon the prosecution of George Lansbury and John Scurr under the archaic and dubious Act of Edward III., and to refrain in future from using this feudal method of suppressing freedom of speech.
>
> "(c) To abandon definitely the illegal policy of suppressing journals before publication, and binding persons over not to print newspapers irrespective of what they contain (as in the case of Mr. Drew), and to stop all further proceedings against Edgar Whiteley, manager of the National Labour Press."

A demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, June 29, to endorse the foregoing resolution.

"TEMPERANCE WOMEN WANT VOTES

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I give your readers a word of explanation concerning your correct report of what happened in the N.B.W.T.A. Conference? I should like, if possible, to modify the very natural conclusion that the "two hands" and "three people" showing dissent were proof of "a narrowness among the delegates." The Conference was no more "free" to express its convictions than Parliament has been on some recent historic occasions. There were anti-suffragists present who would have voted against Resolution No. 1 could they have dared the President's displeasure. For the same reason, numbers of women sat silent instead of voting against Lady Dorothy Howard's "uncalled for motion" No. 2, while others failed to back up Lady Horsley's plucky attempt at an amendment. The fact is, we B.W.T.A. members are handicapped by three considerations: (1) Our admiration of Lady Carlisle's unique personality; (2) our gratitude for her splendid temperance work; (3) our love for her many and great personal kindnesses. We women are getting on in our education for public life, but we have not arrived yet. We have learned loyalty, but it is loyalty to a leader rather than the more difficult loyalty to principles. It was in carrying out this wrongly conceived loyalty that so many "British Women" sat silent at the Conference which you report. Had they really been "free," all three votes would have shown a very different result.—Yours truly,

(Mrs.) A. L. Wheatley.
66, Filey Avenue, Upper Clapton, N.

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Woman's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 "
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
*Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 "
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	May 19	"
Mrs. Margaret Palmer	May 26	6 weeks
Miss Dora Ryan	"	6 "
Miss Annie Walsh	"	6 "

* One month of the sentence commuted.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, June 5.—In the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Darling, action by Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver, Ltd., T. J. Harries and Co., Sweats and Wells, and the White House Linen Specialities, Ltd., against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Mabel Tuke, as representing the Women's Social and Political Union, for alleged conspiracy in the window-breaking raid of March, 1912; adjourned.

At Doncaster, charged with being on the premises at Westfield House, Doncaster, for unlawful purposes, Miss Augusta Winship; remanded in custody.

Friday, June 6.—In the King's Bench Division, action against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, &c.; adjourned.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, charged with obstruction, Miss Constance Andrews, Mrs. Marianne Hyde, and Miss Ogilvie; remanded.

Saturday, June 7.—In the King's Bench Division, action against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, &c.; judgment entered for the plaintiffs, with costs.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, Mrs. Marianne Hyde, Miss Constance Andrews, and Miss Ogilvie; fined 20s. each or 14 days' imprisonment. Payment refused, but subsequently made by unknown person.

Monday, June 9.—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Phillimore, charged with alleged conspiracy under the Malicious Damage to Property Act, 1861, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Barrett, Miss Lake, Miss Lennox, and Mr. E. G. Clayton; adjourned, bail allowed.

At Doncaster, charged with being on the premises of Westfield House, Doncaster, for unlawful purposes, Miss Augusta Winship and Mr. Harry Johnson; Miss Winship discharged (Miss Dennis—said to be Miss Lenton—gave witness that she was at the house and not defendant; arrested and remanded), Mr. Johnson committed for trial.

Tuesday, June 10.—At the Old Bailey, W.S.P.U. trial; adjourned, bail allowed.

At Doncaster, charged with being on the premises of Westfield House for unlawful purposes, Miss May Dennis (Miss Lenton); committed for trial, no application made for bail.

At Richmond, before the Mayor of Richmond, charged on suspicion with loitering to commit a felony, Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Clara Giveen; remanded, bail allowed at £1,000, and two sureties of £500 each.

Wednesday, June 11.—At the Old Bailey, W.S.P.U. trial; adjourned, bail allowed.

At Kingston, charged with setting fire to stand at the Hurst Park Racecourse, Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Clara Giveen; remanded, bail in £2,000 each, and one surety of £1,000 each.

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From a Business Man.—"After only a week here, I feel I have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the main principles of Nature Cure to enable me, in conjunction with a reformed diet, to maintain health in future."—A. C. R., 3rd November, 1912.

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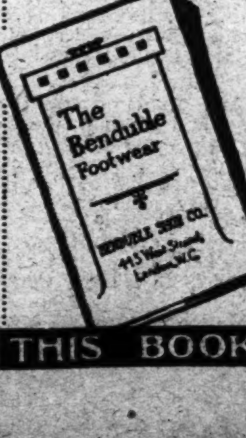
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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organising Secretory, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, June 13, Westminster Palace Hotel, 3.30 to 6.15. Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Stanbury, Fru Anker, Dr. Florence Willey.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a public meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., Wednesday, June 18, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Abrams, D.Sc., F.R.Hist.S., on "Englishwomen in the Later Middle Ages"; J. Cameron Grant, Esq., on "The Correlation of Sex." Admission free.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

PEN PAINTING COMPETITION RESULT, Regent Art Studio, 119, Regent Street.—First Prize, £2 2s., Mrs. Buchanan, 63, Netherby Road, Edinburgh; Second Prize, £1 1s., Miss Gladys Jackson, Bankfield, Norfolk Road, Harrogate; Third Prize, Miss Duesbury, Whitecot, Albion Road, Sutton; Consolation Prizes, Mrs. Maitland, Glencairn, Sunningfield Road, Hendon; Miss Clara Betts, 33, Walsingham Road, Clapton; Miss Clark, 456, Seven Sisters Road, London.

6D.—Will you help the great cause of Prevention of White Slave Traffic? READ LADY BIRD. LADY BIRD. From 7 to 27. By Mrs. Hugo Ames. Profits Station Workers' Fund. PRICE 6d. Mrs. Ames is, and has been for 3 years, on the International Private Commission. Statistics and literature sent FREE for 1d. stamp. John Cameron Grant writes: "This Moving Story."

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BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s.; close Baker Street Underground and Tube; bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone: 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, Worthing, Hove, or Eastbourne, wanted by lady where others are received. Thirty shillings; close to sea.—B., 56, Finborough Road, South Kensington.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE. — Bella - Christa, 14, Castle Hill Avenue. Board residence; good position; near Leas, sea, and pleasure gardens; separate tables; cycle accommodation.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

MEMBER, lonely, would like Lady to share home; every comfort; good servant; high ground; south aspect; terms low; Reading.—Box 332, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

ON Heights of Udimore (300ft) near Winchelsea; restful holidays amidst beautiful country; old farmhouse; indoor sanitation; good table; delightful gardens; terms moderate.—Ridley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, Rye.

PARIS.—English Ladies receive Paying-Guests in comfortable house; large garden; beautiful riverside scenery; 21 minutes to centre of city.—Misses Shand, Belvedere, Chaton.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUMMER SCHOOL (Vegetarian Diet), BEXHILL-ON-SEA; Mrs. and Miss Sutch; ideal holiday party; charming house in own grounds, 4½ acres, overlooking sea; excursions, games, entertainments, lectures, bathing, boating, &c., &c.—Send for illustrated booklet to Secretary, 100, Newington Causeway, London, S.E.

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BUNGALOW.—Little Clacton, 3 miles from sea; well furnished; 2 bed, 1 sitting-room, kitchen, cycle shed; near church; terms, 18s. 6d. weekly for July.—Baxter, 43, Limes Avenue, New Southgate, N.

COMFORTABLE, small Furnished Flat, in Chelsea, to let; 1 sitting, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, good restaurant.—Box 392, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

CROMER.—First-rate Apartments, view of sea and pier; good cooking and attendance. — Dawson, Balmoral, Cabbell Road, Cromer.

EAST COAST, YORKSHIRE. — Furnished Seaside Country Cottage; 3 bedrooms, 1 sitting-room, scullery, orchard, bathing, golf; 25s. a week; outside sanitation.—Box 376, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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THE NEST, WEST MALVERN.—To be let, furnished, for some months, or a shorter period; a pretty cottage; 5 rooms; beautiful views; gas, water, every convenience; quiet situation; good motor service; terms moderate. — Apply to M., above address.

TO LET, furnished, for August and September, at a moderate rent, house beautifully situated on Surrey Common; station and shops 2 miles; church near; no gas or electric light; simple furniture; lovely, well-kept garden; two lawns; coach-house and stabling; 8 bedrooms, 3 sitting-rooms, bathroom; gardener and boy left.—Write, Mrs. Richmond, 27, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead.

TOWYN.—July to middle September, or part, furnished house, 3 reception, 7 bedrooms, bath, coach-house, stables, garage, croquet and tennis lawns, paddock gardens; 7 guineas a week.—Box 383, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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